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ART. I. — 1. *A Treatise on the Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity.* By I. RAY, M. D., Superintendent of the Maine Insane Hospital. Second Edition, with Additions. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 490.

2. *Report of the Trial of Abner Rogers, Jr., indicted for the Murder of Charles Lincoln, Jr., late Warden of the Massachusetts State Prison, before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts holden at Boston, January* 30, 1844. By GEORGE TYLER BIGELOW and GEORGE BEMIS, Esqrs., Counsel for the Defendant. Boston: Little and Brown. 8vo. pp. 286.

3. *The Plea of Insanity in Criminal Cases.* By FORBES WINSLOW, Esq., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. Boston: Little and Brown. 1843. 12mo. pp. 111.

THE great prevalence of the disease of insanity, and especially its remarkable apparent increase of late years, which has nowhere been more observable than in this country, have directed much attention towards it, and caused its phenomena, remedies, and consequences to be studied with great zeal and considerable success. We say *apparent* increase, because it is quite certain, that the progress of science, or a change in the system of classifying diseases, has recently brought very many cases under this category, which were formerly either ranked under a different head, or else not noticed at all; and because, from the multiplication of public

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asylums for the treatment of the insane, and from the philanthropic exertions of individuals, many a poor maniac has been rescued from some dark cell in a workhouse or jail, where he raved forgotten except by one or two brutal attendants, and has been brought to swell the number of patients supported at the public charge. Make proper allowance for the recent effect of these circumstances upon the statistics of insanity, and we do not know of any sufficient proof, that the disease is now actually upon the increase, or that it wears a more threatening aspect than in former years. But the facts which have been brought to light respecting its prevalence and its consequences are afflicting enough. The vast ranges of buildings which crown one eminence in Worcester, and another in Charlestown, when we consider that they were erected solely for the accommodation of the insane in the single State of Massachusetts, with less than a million of inhabitants, though they may make us proud of the munificent philanthropy of the builders, affect us with far different feelings when we think of the pitiable fate of the multitude within their walls. In a former article,* we laid before our readers the means of estimating the probable number of the insane in this State, and it is not necessary to revise the gloomy computation. Enough was shown of the extent of the calamity to commend the subject to the earnest attention of every reflecting man and sincere philanthropist.

The facts, appalling as they may seem, may not be enough to support the startling theory which has been advanced, that insanity increases with the progress of civilization, and that the number of its victims in any country will be found in exact proportion to the diffusion of knowledge and the general cultivation of the intellectual powers among its inhabitants. Upon this hypothesis, the disease is like a canker, which appears only in the ripening fruit, while it is unseen in the blossom and the germ. Fortunately it is only a hypothesis, and one which it is impossible to substantiate by testimony, from the difficulty of ascertaining the extent to which the disease prevails among half-civilized or barbarous nations. Nor is it supported by *a priori* considerations; for excessive activity of mind — the undue tension of the intellectual powers — is far from being the only cause of the malady. Moral causes are at least

* *N. A. Review*, Vol. LVI. p. 172.

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equally operative. Intemperance, licentiousness, violent passions, the more gloomy forms of superstitious belief, and many purely physical circumstances, are very active in scattering the seeds of the complaint, and all these may be as frequent and as efficient among savages as with civilized men. Unquestionably, there are certain states of cultivated society — and we fear our own social system is to be ranked among them — which are very favorable to the growth and development of this terrible disease. Where wealth and distinction pass rapidly from hand to hand, where the prizes of life are held up in glittering profusion in a race open to all comers, and where emulation, avarice, and ambition are consequently stimulated to the utmost ; where the young are most affected by such excitements, and precocity of talent is most observable and most favored ; where a general license of speculation exists on all topics, especially on politics and religion, and where advanced systems of education, and the peculiarities of democratic institutions, cause disputes upon these subjects to be carried on among all classes, even the lowest in the community, so that they fill the void in every one's life which is occupied in other countries by less agitating popular amusements; in short, where all the causes of mental anxiety and agitation are so rife, that excitement becomes habitual to the mind, and there is a perpetual longing for it ; — there insanity may be expected to become an epidemic. These circumstances may not operate as immediate and efficient causes of the disease; but they prepare the ground for it, so that every seed which may happen to fall is sure to vegetate.

But it is not our object now to discuss either the statistics or the causes of aberration of mind. The questions of law which grow up out of the existence of insanity are numerous and important, and our present purpose is to consider these legal relations of the disease. Viewed under this aspect, the topic becomes a sort of neutral ground between the professions of law and medicine; and its intrinsic difficulties are not lessened, when the conflicting opinions, principles, and habits of mind of two very different classes of persons are brought to bear upon it. In the publications named at the head of this article, and in other writings upon the subject, nothing appears more plainly, than the violent contrast between the lawyer's habitual veneration for fixed maxims and long established precedents, and the rather loose empiricism

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of the physician, who welcomes every new case as the possible basis of a new principle, and almost every novel theory as affording at least a more accurate method of classifying the various forms of the malady. Each is naturally watchful over his own jurisdiction, and jealous of the other's encroachments; and the uninstructed multitude, belonging to neither party, look on with amazement, wondering who shall decide when doctors and judges disagree. A reviewer may be presumed to be neutral, and is therefore guilty of less arrogance than is usual, when he undertakes to be umpire between two disputants, or to write upon matters in which he has had no professional experience.

Dr. Ray's work is already favorably known to the public, having passed through one edition, and being frequently cited with respect both by lawyers and physicians. The writer is eminently qualified for his task by long professional experience, much study, and an acute and reflecting turn of mind. He has the rare merit of not dogmatizing upon a theme which has occupied so much of his attention, and which he has had so great facilities for studying, that he may reasonably suppose himself to be more able to form a correct judgment upon it than most other members either of the legal or medical fraternity. His conclusions are adopted with care, cautiously expressed, and supported by an abundant array of facts and arguments. He leans, as is natural, towards his own profession, and manifests some impatience at the pertinacity of the lawyers in applying ancient legal maxims to cases of insanity, which ought rather to be governed by principles derived from the enlarged experience and improved science of the present day. But this preference is not unreasonably indulged, and the writer often shows considerable tact and versatility of mind in contemplating his subject under its exclusively legal relations. If he has any undue bias, it proceeds from the doctrines of phrenology; for although he nowhere expresses his belief in this pretended science, and even cautiously avoids any use of its terminology, we can trace its effects here and there upon the formation of his opinions. And we cannot share the confidence with which he traces *all* the forms of mania to disease of the brain, and denies that it can ever be attributed solely to an affection of the immaterial principle. Many instances of monomania, unquestionably produced by brooding too long and too anx-

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iously over one idea, seem to us to point directly to a different conclusion ; and the admitted fact, that, in numerous instances, no morbid affection of the brain can be discovered, is enough to unsettle this sweeping assertion. The induction from facts stopping short at a certain point, the completeness of the generalization must be attributed, not to observation, but to hypothesis. In the science of medicine, little reasoning is safe which goes beyond the limits of the most cautious empiricism.

The literary execution of Dr. Ray's book is of a high order. He is master of an easy, correct, and sustained style, with sufficient command of words always to indicate the exact shade of thought, and never to leave the reader in doubt as to his meaning. There is sometimes a luxuriance of expression, in describing the different manifestations of disease, which rises almost to eloquence, and not only conveys distinct ideas, but inspires strong emotion. Almost his only fault of manner is a tendency to diffuseness, which sometimes obscures the main points of his theme by a cloud of amplification. The style is elegant and flowing, but lacks point and terseness. The usefulness of a book, which is necessarily, in some degree, a work of reference, and not intended merely for continued perusal, is increased by compression, and a somewhat formal and distinct enunciation of the principles which the writer seeks to establish.

Of the other works now before us, one is a very full and elaborate report of the trial of Abner Rogers, Jr., one of the most important cases involving the law of insanity which have recently been decided in this country. The arguments of the counsel are given at great length, and embody a great amount of legal learning and sound reasoning upon this difficult subject. They give a satisfactory view of the leading cases, the discussion of which has determined the legal effects of the plea of insanity in criminal trials ; and the very able charge of the judge, though not reported with so much fulness, shows clearly what is the present law on this head in our own courts.

Equally satisfactory for English practice is the short treatise of Mr. Winslow, which presents a very succinct review of the recent decisions of the English judges in cases of alleged insanity, and of the speculations of medical men in regard to those cases. The trial of Oxford, who shot at the

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queen, and of McNaughton, who was tried for the murder of Mr. Drummond, the private secretary of Sir Robert Peel, excited great interest, and caused much alarm lest the indulgence shown by the legal tribunals to the plea of insanity should favor the escape of notorious criminals, and defeat the ends of justice. To quiet this apprehension, the House of Lords called upon the twelve judges to state definitely what was the law upon some of the nicest questions which were involved in the discussion of these cases. The answer of the judges is given in the appendix to Mr. Winslow's book, and though expressed with great caution, lest the generality of the terms should lead to error when applied to particular cases, it indicates with sufficient clearness the legal principles applicable to the subject, of which it must be regarded as the latest and most authoritative exposition.

Although the law, as stated on this occasion, is by no means so favorable to the criminal supposed to be insane, as most medical authorities would have it, or as the advanced state of science respecting the nature and operation of many forms of mental disease would seem to justify, it is a great advance, in point of leniency to the accused, beyond the legal maxims which were deemed binding only a few years ago. The general principle of English jurispudence is, that a man is responsible for his acts so long as he is capable of distinguishing between right and wrong. On the trial of Bellingham for killing Mr. Percival, Lord Mansfield instructed the jury, that the single question for them to consider was, "whether, at the time this act was committed, the accused possessed a sufficient degree of understanding to distinguish good from evil, right from wrong, and whether murder was a crime not only against the laws of God, but the law of his country." Under this instruction, Bellingham was convicted and executed within eight days after the commission of the offence, although he was unquestionably deranged, as he fancied that the killing of the prime minister of England was the only means of obtaining redress for his imaginary wrongs. His delusion consisted in the belief, that his private affairs were matters of national concern, and that the government was bound to afford him redress, and would do so, if he could only contrive a means of bringing his case before the country. Under the circumstances, such an idea could not have

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entered the head of a sane man, and the absurd choice of a means of obtaining the desired publicity for his case was a further proof of his general unsoundness of mind.

Severe as the rule of law may seem which was applied in this trial, it was not so harsh and unreasonable as the principle inculcated by English jurists at a still earlier day. Thus, Lord Hale recognized the distinction between partial and total insanity, but expressly declared that the former did not constitute an excuse for an offence which would otherwise be capital. He seemed to suppose, that the difference between the two kinds of mania was not in kind, but in degree, and, therefore, that the partially insane person might still possess as much understanding as a child fourteen years old, and consequently be liable to punishment. In conformity with this opinion, Mr. Justice Tracy declared, in 1723, that "not every kind of frantic humor" can exempt a man from punishment; but before he can be held innocent, it must be shown that he is "*totally* deprived of his understanding and memory." Under this interpretation of the law, Arnold was convicted for shooting at Lord Onslow, and sentenced to be hanged, though it was fully proved that his family and neighbours for many years had considered him insane, and that he was in the habit of declaring, "that Lord Onslow sent his devils and imps into his room at night to disturb his rest, and that he constantly plagued and bewitched him, by getting into his belly or bosom, so that he could neither eat, drink, nor sleep for him." Later observation has established the fact, that the monomaniac is quite as irrational on the particular subject of his delusion as the frenzied madman is upon all subjects. If the offence, then, with which he is charged, grew out of his particular delusion, — if an obvious connection can be traced in the mind of the accused between the two, he is equally entitled with the latter to an acquittal. Arnold would not have sought to injure Lord Onslow, if he had not been possessed by the insane notion, that his Lordship sent devils into his room to disturb his sleep ; and therefore the injustice done by his conviction is flagrant.

This was the doctrine maintained by Mr. Erskine in the celebrated trial of Hadfield, and the recognition of it by the court on that occasion constitutes the first marked improvement in the spirit of the English law on this subject. The essence of insanity was then acknowledged to consist, not in the to-

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tal, or even partial, privation of memory and understanding on all subjects, but in the maniac's "immovable assumption" of certain wild fancies as realities; and the question respecting the guilt or innocence of the accused was made to depend on the connection shown between his particular delusion and the act which he had committed. Hadfield was admitted to be sane in most respects, and his conduct while at the bar was perfectly rational. But he fancied that he was the Saviour of mankind, and that, in order to fulfil his mission, it was necessary for him to die. As he was not permitted to commit suicide, he thought he must do some act for which he would be subjected to capital punishment; and, acting under this belief, he loaded a pistol, went to the theatre, and shot at the king. The relation here between the disease and the act is apparent, and the principle of law laid down by Mr. Erskine being acknowledged by the court, Hadfield was acquitted, and sent for the remainder of his life to Bedlam hospital. Here he remained for thirty years, showing hardly any signs of insanity, except once, when he suddenly became so furious that it was necessary to chain him. But the paroxysm soon passed off, and he continued tranquil till the time of his death.

The principle stated in Hadfield's case, however, must be taken with one qualification, according to the present mode of interpreting the law. It must not only appear that the accused labored under a delusion respecting the very act which he committed, but the insane belief must be of such a nature, that, if true, it would have justified the deed. If the madman fancies, for instance, that his keeper is about to kill him, and if, under this delusion, he murders the keeper, he must be acquitted; for if his supposition were true, the act would be one of self-defence. But if he killed the man only for some imaginary trifling wrong, or to remove a supposed obstacle to the attainment of an estate, though the estate existed only in his own insane fancy, he must be convicted; for such motives, even if well founded, would not excuse so grave a crime. This is the law as laid down by Chief Justice Shaw in the trial of Rogers; and the doctrine seems to be countenanced, though rather indistinctly, by the answers given by the English judges to the questions proposed by the House of Lords. "The delusion must be such," says Judge Shaw, "that the person under its influence has a real and firm be-

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lief of some fact, not true in itself, but which, *if it were true, would excuse his act.*" The English judges declare, that though the man entertains an insane fancy, if he knew, at the time of committing the crime, that he was acting contrary to law, he is punishable. Of course, we cannot penetrate into the recesses of the mind, and ascertain directly whether the man was conscious, at the time, that he was doing a wrong, or transgressing the law. Such consciousness can be inferred only from the character of the deed, and the nature of the fancied provocation to it. If we suppose the motive to be well founded, but find that it is still inadequate to justify the proceeding, we may infer that the man knew he was doing wrong. And this appears to be the doctrine of the English courts.

Dr. Ray objects to this principle of law, and we think with good reason. The delusion usually consists, not merely in the assumption of some wild fancy as a reality, but in the exaggerated importance which the maniac attributes to the supposed fact, and in the influence which he allows it to exert over his whole mind and conduct. He is insane upon this one subject in all its relations; he has no right judgment either of its moral character or its consequences. He imagines, for instance, that an insult has been offered to him; and though it be of so slight a character, that it would hardly move the resentment of a sane man, to him it is an offence worthy of death. "When a person," says Dr. Ray, "is so insane as to imagine that another is disturbing his peace by spells and incantations, is it strange, that, at the same time, his notions of right and wrong should be so confused, that he thinks himself justified in sacrificing his disturber?" The fancied wrong seems never to leave the mind of the madman, and appears to him as the sole injury, or the greatest, which one is capable of suffering, and consequently that no punishment is too great for its author. Poor Lear imagines, when "his wits begin to unsettle," that nothing but the ingratitude of children is sufficient to drive a man mad:

> "Nothing could have subdued nature
> To such a lowness, but his unkind daughters."

This harsh maxim, that the monomaniac must be supposed capable of appreciating the moral character of an action, and of weighing out to it the precise measure of retribution

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which it deserves, though the action never took place except in his disturbed fancy, seems to have proceeded from the reluctance of the courts to abandon the old principle of law, which never admitted insanity as an excuse for crime, except when it amounted to a total inability to distinguish right from wrong. This principle, in all its generality, was broken down at last, when it was shown by numberless instances, that a man may be insane on one topic, and still show a sense of duty and of right with regard to all other subjects, and be perfectly conscious that the commission of ordinary crimes would subject him to the penalties of law. The moral power seems hardly ever to suffer a total eclipse, and many an inmate of Bedlam will gravely reprove his companions as wrong-doers, when he is eagerly watching for an opportunity to gratify his own homicidal propensity. Compelled to admit the true theory of partial insanity in this respect, the legal tribunals have still insisted, that, when the premises are granted to a maniac, he must be held responsible for his conclusions. Suppose it true, that his victim was his enemy, he must still be condemned, if the supposed cause of enmity was no justification to a sane man for killing his fellow. The severity and injustice of this rule will not long allow it a place in the law, and it is even now relaxed in practice.

But we go much further. We deny the reasonableness or the necessity of punishing a decided monomaniac for any crime, even though it appear totally disconnected with the subject of his particular delusion. Who can trace the tortuous train of association in a disordered intellect, and declare with certainty, that the act did not grow out of the morbid belief, because seemingly far removed from it? It does not appear very readily why Hadfield thought it necessary to shoot at the king in order to fulfil his fancied mission as the Saviour of the world. If nothing but the fact of his entertaining this fancy had appeared at the trial, this rule of law would have required his condemnation. Luckily, the testimony supplied the intervening links in his insane reasoning, and showed that he committed the crime under the belief, that, in order to complete the parallel between himself and the Saviour, he also must be convicted and suffer death from the law. There must be many cases, in which it would be impossible to prove such a connection as was here estab-

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lished, or even to indicate it except by such obscure and far-fetched analogies as would fail to convince a jury. Who can even say, that the acknowledged infirmity on a single point is not joined with a liability to insane impulses, or with some other latent but general disorder of the intellect? When the mind is known to be a ruin upon one side, who can tell that the whole structure is not dilapidated and unsound? Besides, even if it were certain that the monomaniac was fully conscious of the criminality of his act, it may be doubted whether he is a proper object of human punishment. The hand of God is already upon him with an infliction heavier than that of death, severing him from the brotherhood of mankind, and marking him out, perhaps, for the unthinking derision of a child. Humanity recoils from the thought of bringing upon such a miserable culprit the last terrors of the law. To afford security to the community is the avowed object of punishing any criminal, and we cannot see how society will be much better protected by putting this class of persons to death, than by incarcerating them in a lunatic asylum. Monomaniacs are neither so numerous nor so wicked, that we need entertain any great apprehensions from them; and to do away with the law, which is unjust to them, will not encourage any other class of criminals. Nor is there any ground to fear lest sane culprits should escape by counterfeiting this form of insanity; for all medical authorities agree, that it is far more difficult to act the part of a person partially insane, than to feign a total deprivation of reason. "Partial insanity," says Dr. Ray, "in consequence of the superior difficulty of the attempt, is much less frequently simulated, and with a much smaller degree of success, than the general form of the disease."

"One of the principal objects of punishments should be, to deter from the commission of crime, by impressing the mind with ideas of physical and moral suffering as its certain consequence; and whenever it is found to produce a very different effect, it is the part of enlightened legislation to devise some other means of prevention. Nothing can be more absurd than to inflict the very punishment which the delusion of the monomaniac often impels him to seek, — to put *him* to death, who voluntarily surrenders himself, and imploringly beseeches it as the only object he had at heart in perpetrating a horrid crime. What is it but converting a dreadful punishment into the dearest boon that earth can offer? In religious monomania, it is not uncommon for the patient to be-

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lieve that the joys of heaven are in store for him, and, under the excitement of this insane idea, to murder a fellow-creature, in order that he may the sooner enter on their fruition. To execute one of this class is to perpetuate an evil which needs only a change of penal consequences to be effectually remedied. A kind of delusion has sometimes prevailed in certain parts of Europe, which persuades its unfortunate subjects, that eternal happiness can be gained by being executed for the murder of some innocent person. The idea is, that suicide, being itself a sin, will not be followed by the happiness they seek; but that murder, though a greater crime, can be repented of before the time of execution. This delusion prevailed epidemically in Denmark, during the middle of the last century, and, to avoid sending an unprepared person out of the world, the victim generally selected was a child. Death, of course, was no punishment in this case, and, at last, the king issued an ordinance directing that the guilty should be branded on the forehead with a hot iron and whipped, and be imprisoned for life, with hard labor. Every year, on the anniversary of their crime, they were to be whipped. Lord Dover, in his life of Frederic, relates, that such was the severity of discipline to which the Prussian troops at Potsdam were subjected, that many wished for death to finish their intolerable sufferings, and murdered children, whom they had enticed within their power, in order to obtain from justice the stroke they dared not inflict upon themselves. Abolish capital punishment in such cases, and the delusion will disappear with it; continue it, and no one can tell when the latter will end." — Ray *on Insanity*, pp. 258, 259.

The nature and legal consequences of what may be called "impulsive insanity" form one of the most curious and difficult subjects which courts of law ever have occasion to consider. In the cases ranked under this head, the patient is suddenly led to the commission of an atrocious crime by an uncontrollable impulse, which seizes upon him without premonition or apparent cause. When the idea first presents itself to his mind, he is perfectly conscious of its horrible character, and seeks to drive it, like a spectre, from his thoughts. But it recurs again and again, until the sufferer, if he have sufficient strength of mind remaining, discloses his condition to his friends, and entreats to be put under restraint, so that he may not be able to gratify his dreadful propensity. More frequently, the disease masters reason and conscience at once, and the unhappy individual perpetrates an act which he shudders to hear mentioned a moment afterwards. It is

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difficult to credit the existence of a malady manifesting itself in this unaccountable way; but there are numerous well authenticated cases of it on record, and some of the more ordinary phenomena of mind seem allied to it, and to point out the possibility of its occurrence.

Many persons, unused to looking down from a great height, when they come to stand on the brink of a precipice, feel an unaccountable impulse to throw themselves off, though death would be the certain consequence. This is probably only one form of giddiness, which, acting on a nervous temperament, partially disturbs the controlling power of the reason, while a lively imagination seeks to picture to itself the sensation that would be produced by falling through so great a distance. The idea is accompanied by a shuddering emotion, which is usually uncomfortable enough to cause them to retire at once to a place of safety; though we believe that fatal accidents have sometimes happened from this cause. The novelty and excitement of the situation drive out other considerations from the mind, and a lively idea of falling may have fascination enough to draw one over the brink. In like manner, when a person is predisposed to insanity, the conception of some horrible act may, from its vividness, acquire such possession of the mind as to defeat for a moment the controlling power of the conscience and the understanding. The malady here consists not so much in diseased volition, as in the momentary suspension of the governing faculties of the mind, leaving the patient to be guided only by impulses always blind in themselves, but usually checked and controlled by reason. Dreadful fancies will sometimes force themselves upon the healthiest imagination, as in disturbed sleep, and sometimes even in our waking hours; "for where 's the palace whereinto things foul sometimes intrude not?" But they are instantly restrained in a well balanced intellect by the consciousness of wrong. On the approach of mental disease, the struggle between this rebellious impulse and the kingly reason may become a doubtful one. It may be repelled with horror again and again; but it returns, and there is a fearful joy in dallying with it, until at last it acquires absolute power for an instant, and then the wild dream becomes a fearful reality.

This speculation may seem fanciful; but the following remark by Coleridge shows, that something like it has occurred

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to other minds. We quote without any approbation of what he says of "lucid intervals"; for, in regard to these, he is contradicted by the highest medical authorities.

"Madness is not simply a bodily disease. It is the sleep of the spirit, with certain conditions of wakefulness; that is to say, lucid intervals. During this sleep or recession of the spirit, the lower or bestial states of life rise up into action and prominence. It is an awful thing to be eternally tempted by the perverted senses. The reason may resist — it does resist — for a long time; but too often, at length, it yields for a moment, and the man is mad for ever. An act of the will is, in many instances, precedent to complete insanity. I think it was Bishop Butler, who said, that he was all his life struggling against the devilish suggestions of his senses, which would have maddened him, if he had relaxed the stern wakefulness of his reason for a single moment." — *Table Talk*, p. 88.

Here, as has been finely said, is a partial explanation of the strange form of insanity so finely portrayed in Hamlet, in whom appear "matter and impertinency mixed, reason in madness." He is naturally of a melancholy disposition, and even before the shock given by the appearance of the ghost and the disclosure of his father's murder, he had reasoned with himself upon the lawfulness of suicide.

> "O, that the Everlasting had not fixed
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter!"

Then the vision and the tale of horror come to urge his mind to feverish excitement, and for a time he is in a state of delirium, and wild jests are mingled with the terrible fancies which crowd upon his imagination. But this fever of the brain soon subsides, and he sinks again into his morbidly reflective habit and inactive melancholy. The idea of madness is present to his mind; he counterfeits it to blind the suspicions of the king; he dallies with it, and finds a strange pleasure in its approach, as it would relieve him from the burden of a duty which he is unable to fulfil. He cannot act in his sane moments, for his mind then runs only to gloomy meditations, and

> "The native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

Whatever he does is unpremeditated and by impulse, when the power of reflection is suspended by surprise and sudden

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excitement, and reason and conscience no longer bind his hands. In one of these frantic moments, he slays Polonius; the idea having flashed upon him at the instant, that the concealed auditor was the king. He is disappointed, and has not the energy to finish the work which he had already accomplished in thought. Again his unnerved temperament falls into inaction, and he vainly seeks by argument to urge himself to the effort, and "to spur his dull revenge." At last he accomplishes the dreaded task, as might be expected, not from a preconcerted plan, but from sudden impulse, when in a state of high excitement. If he had had time to think, the action would have been again postponed.

Many cases of impulsive insanity are on record, in which it seems impossible to detect any particular hallucination of mind leading to an act of violence as its natural termination. The deed appears to be involuntary, the unhappy patient shrinking from the contemplation of it both before and after its commission. From the great difficulty of establishing by testimony the true nature of such obscure cases, there is much danger of a total misapplication of legal punishment. "Homicidal desires," says Dr. Ray, "of the intensest kind, will sometimes flit through the mind, while the individual, though capable of judging of his feelings, is unconscious of being otherwise than perfectly well." In support of this assertion, he cites several well authenticated instances. Thus Marc, the eminent medical jurist, relates of himself, that, happening to pass over a bridge one day, he saw a boy sitting on the parapet, and was seized with an almost irresistible desire to push him into the river. The thought occupied his mind but an instant, but it filled him with horror, and he left the spot as soon as possible. When Talma, the tragedian, was told of this fact, he informed the narrator, that he had felt the same impulse under similar circumstances. Gall speaks of a peasant of Swabia, who was subject to periodical attacks of this kind. He had been afflicted with epilepsy, but this disease left him without apparent cause, and in its place he was seized at times with an irresistible inclination to commit murder. He had a presentiment of the approach of the malady, and entreated to be chained and guarded, that he might not be able to act out the horrible impulse. "When the fit comes on," he said, "I feel under a necessity to kill, even if it were a

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child." During the fit, he retained his consciousness, and knew that if he yielded to it, he should commit an atrocious crime. In that powerful but extravagant fiction, "The Mysteries of Paris," many of our readers may recollect a striking account of one character, the Chourineur, who was subject to impulses of this nature.

"Andral relates the case of a man of considerable scientific reputation, who became the subject of these horrid impulses. He was seized with an intense desire to deprive some human being of life. Frightened by a consciousness of his state, he voluntarily deprived himself of liberty. He prayed incessantly before the altar, that God would assist him in his struggle. When he felt the inclination arising, (for it assumed an intermittent character,) he had his thumbs tied together; and this slight physical obstacle for a time prevented him from gratifying the horrid propensity. Notwithstanding all his exertions, his malady increased, and he at length made an attempt at homicide; after which, the monomania verged into general insanity, still marked with this predominant character. He eventually died raving mad."—Winslow's *Plea of Insanity*, pp. 57, 58.

Dr. Woodward has treated of this subject with his usual good sense and nice observation. In his "Tenth Annual Report, as Superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester," he describes a number of cases which are so instructive that we transfer a considerable portion of them to our pages.

"Many insane persons know their condition, know their own weakness, and yet are not always able to counteract the influences that excite them to mischief. They are governed by impulse, which is excited so suddenly, that the counteracting or antagonizing influences do not move seasonably to prevent mischief. This is their disease. The active propensities are quickened, and the counteracting moral sentiments are more tardy. As is commonly said, the individual acts before he thinks, and in a moment often regrets what he has done.

"The impulsive insane are often irritable, restless, and jealous. Sometimes they have delusions, and sometimes not. Their delusions frequently seem to have no connection with their outbreaks of violence. They are often the *best*, and at the same time the most *dangerous*, class of patients in the asylums. They have little of the charity of the world, are most likely to be punished for their offences, and yet have the least control over their conduct.

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"One man in the Hospital, the past year, went out to do a small job of labor. In the absence of his attendant, the thought came into his mind that he would go and see his brother, a distance of forty miles. He dropped his tools and went off. He walked with great rapidity some hours; and then came the reflection, "Should I have left the Hospital in this way?" The reason why he should not have left did not occur to him till he had got far away, and then he was anxious to return. He inquired the way, wandered a great distance, and finally, coming to a railroad, took passage and returned. He was overjoyed to get back, and seemed as well as usual, but much fatigued. This man killed his wife under the influence of one of these impulses. He is a good laborer, conscientious, judicious, and honest. These impulses occur but rarely. He has always been trusted to labor alone, or with companions. Twice, in ten years, he has gone off under such an impulse, and returned voluntarily after it left him.

. . . . .

"Some time during the last summer, a patient was at work in the field, hoeing corn. His attendant directed him to vary his labor in some way. In a moment he raised his hoe, and struck him over the head. The wound bled freely, and looked more severe than it really was. The patient and the wounded man both returned to the house. Language cannot describe the suffering of this unfortunate man. He inquired of me most earnestly if the wound was fatal,—if the man could recover. He was pale, agitated, trembling, expressed his sorrow and regret that he had done the deed, and begged that he might see the wounded man and obtain his forgiveness. After the wound was dressed, the man went into the apartment to see the patient, who fell upon his knees and asked his forgiveness in most imploring language, expressing his sorrow for what he had done. This man also committed homicide some years ago, and now expresses his sorrow, protests his innocence of the crime, and daily prays to God for his forgiveness.

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"Many persons contemplate suicide, fear that they shall in an unguarded moment perpetrate it, prepare and keep the means at hand for days and weeks together, and yet never attempt it; such a person may do it afterwards under a momentary but strong excitement of the feelings.

"A patient now in the Hospital, who is very impulsive, has informed me, that he has plunged into the water many times, with the intention of suicide, but that the effect of the water had always been such as to remove the desire of self-destruction, and he had immediately struggled to save himself.

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"One patient, who was very suicidal, informed me, after recovery, that, when he was insane, he contemplated suicide; had the greatest dread of it, and fear that he might commit it; urged his friends to keep every thing out of his way, lest he might be induced to take his own life; and yet, at the same time, he would carry a razor in his pocket for days together, and secrete it under his pillow at night.

"A patient now in the Hospital will often give up knife, scissors, and every weapon that may be used for self-destruction; and yet these same instruments will, at another time, be found secreted under the bed, though they have never been used. This shows that the subject is frequently in mind. — pp. 70 – 73.

The mode in which the impulse is carried into effect is often determined by recollection of similar cases, and by some obscure operation of the principle of sympathy. Suicide committed in some extraordinary way, if the circumstances are made public, is very apt to induce one or more persons to follow the dreadful example. A remarkable instance happened in London not long ago. But one case of suicide by precipitation from the top of the monument on Fish-street hill, had occurred for more than half a century. In 1839, a young woman, named Moyes, who had not been suspected of insanity, and was not known to labor under any cause of depression of spirits, having ascended the monument, as was supposed, from motives of curiosity, threw herself off from the balcony at the top, and was killed by the fall. Some complaint was made, at the time, of the carelessness of the persons having charge of the structure; but as they could not be required to take precautions against an event so unlikely to happen, and as the woman could not have fallen from accident, the railing round the balcony being quite high, nothing was done, and the affair seemingly passed out of notice. But within a few months, a boy about sixteen years old, in whose previous conduct nothing unusual had appeared, destroyed himself in the same way. Public attention being now called to the danger, a person was employed to accompany each visiter to the top of the monument, and to remain there during the whole of his stay. But again, before the end of the year, a young woman, who had no apparent cause to wish for death, went up with this attendant, and having contrived to fix his attention upon some object on one side, she mounted

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the railing on the other, and precipitated herself to the bottom. Then, at last, the railing was carried up and united to the stone work, thus changing the balcony into a kind of cage, and offering an effectual precaution against such accidents for the future.

These cases may be explained on the supposition of impulsive insanity, united with the giddiness produced by looking down from a great height, to which we have already alluded. If we consider the absence of motive, it seems not likely that either of these unfortunate persons entertained the idea of suicide before mounting the stairs.

"Dr. Pagan observes, that a patient confessed to him, that he never goes near an open window in the upper part of his house, without being afraid, as he thought he should yield to the extraordinary impulse, which he invariably feels when he has done so, to precipitate himself into the street. The same patient informed him, 'that, upon one occasion, while at sea, he became tormented with an inclination to throw himself overboard. He maintained this contest for some days, and describes it as being the most harassing and distressing that can be imagined. When he first experienced it, he endeavoured to laugh himself out of it, but it would not do; he had recourse to every kind of distraction which he could contrive, but it was of no avail. It left him when he went below; but the moment he came on deck, and looked at the sea, the same unaccountable desire came on him, and so worn out was he with the contest he was obliged to maintain, that he actually yielded to the uncontrollable impulse, and threw himself overboard. He was perfectly aware of his danger, and was quite ashamed of what he conceived his own folly.'

"Mrs. Trollope relates the particulars of three women, who, at different periods, whilst under the influence of a momentary paroxysm of delirium, or suicidal frenzy, precipitated themselves from the spire of Strasburg cathedral. One of the unfortunate creatures, says Dr. Pagan, was a young girl; and the first symptom of a disordered mind which she manifested was that of excessive mirth. She laughed and shouted as if in ecstasy, and, having reached a point where nothing impeded her view of the abyss below, she sprang from the giddy eminence, screaming wildly as she fell." — Winslow's *Plea of Insanity*, pp. 54, 55.

The imitative or sympathetic element in impulsive insanity shows itself even more decidedly, when the patient is

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led to attack the lives of others. Within two years, three successive attempts have been made upon the life of the queen of England, by mere boys, who had no apparent motive for the deed, and had not previously exhibited any very decided symptoms of insanity. The fear of capital punishment not being sufficient to prevent the repetition of such criminal attempts, parliament very wisely passed a law, that, in any future case, the perpetrator should suffer a much lower but more humiliating penalty; and since this enactment, the offence has not been repeated. This fact is worthy the attention of those who believe, that sanguinary laws are the most sure mode of deterring from the commission of crime. That most insane persons may be affected by the fear of punishment, and thus be restrained from acts of violence, though their particular delusion leads directly towards such attempts, is a fact established by the experience of every lunatic asylum. That such persons will even presume on the immunity from capital punishment, which arises from consideration for their unhappy state of mind, is no less certain. Two curious anecdotes, in illustration of this fact, are mentioned by Mr. Winslow. An unruly inmate of an asylum, being deprived of a dagger with which he had provided himself, became very violent, and, in a fit of fury, exclaimed to his keeper, "I 'll murder you yet; *I am a madman, and they cannot hang me for it.*" When Martin set fire to York minster, some lunatics in a neighbouring madhouse were discussing with each other the question, whether he could be convicted for the crime. One of them, apparently as insane as the rest, exclaimed, "Of course he will escape; they cannot hang him, because he is mad. *He is one of ourselves!*" On persons in this state of mind, it is quite certain, that the dread of a shower-bath, a whipping, or a strait waistcoat, would have more effect than the fear of the gallows.

The contagious effect of impulsive insanity was very apparent in an instance which occurred soon after the trial of Henriette Cornier, at Paris, in 1825. Her case was a remarkable one, and the circumstances acquired great publicity. She was a female servant, twenty-seven years old, who appeared to be of a cheerful temperament, and very fond of children. Suddenly her deportment changed, and she seemed very desponding and melancholy, though no suspicions were excited that she was becoming insane. One

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day, when there was no perceptible alteration in her common demeanour, she conceived the horrible purpose of murdering a neighbour's child, a pretty infant, for whom she had always manifested a great liking. She executed the act in a frightful manner, entirely severing the child's head from its body, and throwing it into the street. She was found seated near the body, looking at it, with her hands and clothes stained with blood. She made no attempt to escape, but confessed all the circumstances, adding, that the idea of killing the child had taken possession of her mind, and "*she was destined* to do it." When she was brought to trial, the physicians declared, that they could give no positive proof of her insanity, but they were unwilling to pronounce her sane. On a second trial, the jury found her guilty of voluntary homicide, but without premeditation, and she was condemned to hard labor for life. M. Georget, a medical jurist of high authority, very properly censures this verdict, saying, that, if the accused was mad, she ought to have been acquitted; and if not mad, she acted from premeditation, and ought to have suffered death.

The remainder of the story we will give in the words of Mr. Winslow.

"A country gentleman, enjoying perfect health, after reading in the paper an account of the indictment of Cornier, awoke in the course of the night with a desire to kill his wife, who was lying beside him. He left his wife's bed for a time, but within three weeks the same murderous impulse seized possession of him. This man did not evince the slightest mental disorder. His business was prosperous; he had never experienced any domestic cares; and he had no cause of complaint or jealousy in regard to his wife, whom he fondly loved, and with whom he lived on the most affectionate terms. This unfortunate man was, at last, obliged to separate himself from his wife, fearful that he might yield to the atrocious impulse." — *Plea of Insanity*, p. 73.

When such cases as we have here cited come up for trial, the very difficult question arises, how we are to distinguish this form of insanity, or what characteristic symptoms show that the individual is not responsible for his conduct. Medical jurists have laid down many tests; but they are very vague, and their application to the particular case is often defeated by legal maxims, which were certainly not estab-

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lished with any view to instances of this character. Thus it is said, that the violent act appears to have been committed without motive; but in cases of deliberate crime, the law presumes malice, even when no reason for it is apparent. It is known that the acts of the madman are often premeditated, but the premeditation is usually short, and offers no very striking manifestations. Sometimes there are premonitory symptoms, such as melancholy, headache, irritability, and a sudden change of demeanour, without any apparent reason. But to say nothing of the fact, that these symptoms often are not perceptible, and the homicidal desire evinces itself without any precursory signs, what jury would venture to acquit a man accused of some frightful deed, merely because he had appeared sad and irritable for a few days before, and something unusual had been seen in his deportment? Sane persons may well appear abstracted and gloomy, when brooding over an insult, or meditating an atrocious crime.

> "Between the acting of a dreadful thing,
> And the first motion, all the interim is
> Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream."

The subsequent conduct of the accused, if he made no attempt to escape, but delivered himself up to justice, and acknowledged the act, is another of the indications that the deed was done from an insane impulse. But a ferocious person, in a state of high excitement, or under the influence of revenge, may commit murder when the circumstances render flight or concealment impossible, and therefore he may not attempt either. His passive state, after the passion is glutted, is no justification of the act, nor proof of unsoundness of mind. Cases of momentary madness often terminate, after a time, in the general and continued form of the disease; but this fact can seldom aid the defence of the accused, especially if the trial take place shortly after the event.

There seems little likelihood, then, in many cases of this class, that the accused will be able to establish his defence, though he may really be an object rather of compassion than punishment. The old legal test, that every person who can distinguish between right and wrong is amenable to punishment for any injury he may inflict, fails entirely in these cases; or, if adhered to, it will insure the condemnation of

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the party. The sufferer is fully aware of the atrocious nature of the crime which he is urged to commit; he resists the propensity for a time, but it overpowers him at last, and he is made wretched for life, or so long as he may preserve the remnant of his reason, by the consciousness of his involuntary act. It is shocking to think, that such an unhappy being may fall a victim to the mistaken severity of the laws.

There is still another form of moral insanity, which is even more obscure in its nature and manifestations than that which is characterized by uncontrollable impulse. It may be called the madness of total depravity. The understanding is apparently sound; the patient has perceptive and reasoning faculties equal to those of other men, and is subject to no hallucination. He seems even to be conscious of the moral relations which bind him to his fellows, though they are but seldom allowed to control his conduct. The affections and propensities appear wholly diseased, and in his actions he resembles a demon rather than a man. He is quarrelsome, violent, and cruel, and no instruction or moral discipline seems to have any effect on his vicious inclinations. He is a moral idiot, the impersonation of every thing that is bad; and the fault not being attributable to education, nor corrigible by it, he is considered as laboring under a congenital and incurable disease. Pinel describes a case, which may be taken as a type of the whole class. It was that of a wayward youth, whose caprices and passions increased with his years, till no bounds could be put to the indulgence of his wild desires. Opposition or resistance roused him to acts of fury, and he attacked those whom he disliked with savage fierceness. If any animal offended him, he instantly killed it. If he went to any public meeting, he was sure to become engaged in a brawl, and lawsuits and wounds were the frequent consequences of his quarrelsome disposition. Yet he managed his estate with propriety, and is said to have distinguished himself, at times, by acts of beneficence and compassion. An act of gross violence, at last, brought upon him the stern hand of the law. Being enraged with a woman who had applied harsh language to him, he threw her into a well. He was tried for this offence, and, on the testimony of several witnesses, he was condemned to imprisonment for life in the Bicêtre.

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The frantic conduct of the worst of the Roman emperors, and of Frederick of Prussia, the father of Frederick the Great, has been attributed to this malady. Their actions were bad enough, but we question whether the tokens of insanity, either in their cases, or in others of the same class, are decided enough to warrant us in considering them as irresponsible for their crimes. Such individuals are not men, but monsters, and, though unfit to die, are certainly unfit to live. Perpetual incarceration is the only proper mode of preventing them from doing harm to society, and it matters little whether the condemnation to it be viewed as a penalty or an act of compassion.

For the guidance of legal investigations, it is very desirable to have a definition of insanity sufficiently comprehensive and exact to separate all cases of unquestioned disorder of the intellect from the mere eccentricities and idiosyncrasies, to which so large a portion of mankind are subject, but which do not amount to positive mental disease. We have shown enough of the Protean forms which this malady assumes to make it evident, that, in the present state of science, no such definition can be framed. The monomaniac, the moral idiot, the fatuous person, the delirious, the man subject to insane impulses, and the frenzied madman, cannot easily be brought into the same category, or included under one description which shall be any thing more than a vague and unmeaning generality. We have already seen how narrow and absurd is the old definition in law, which makes the moral power to be the sole test of sanity, and declares that he is not a madman who is capable of distinguishing right from wrong. More ingenious, but still unsatisfactory, is the theory of Locke, who maintains that madmen reason correctly from wrong premises, while idiots cannot reason at all. This is a correct description of idiocy, so far as it goes; but it does not include delirium, or irrational and uncontrollable impulse; for in the former case, the power of ratiocination is destroyed, and in the latter, the premises as well as the conclusions of the sufferer are sound. Very often also, as in the cases of Bellingham and Hadfield, the *means* employed by the madman are as absurd as the *end* is imaginary or improper. To maintain, as Dr. Cullen has done, that insanity consists in false judgments, is no more than to say, that every man is distracted who has lost his wits.

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In his ingenious and beautifully written work on the "Indications of Insanity," Dr. Conolly proposes a new definition of the disease, and defends it with much acuteness and a long array of analyzed cases. He affirms, that insanity is "the impairment of any one or more of the faculties of the mind, accompanied with, or inducing, a defect in the comparing faculty." A person, who merely suffers a morbid affection of one or more of his intellectual faculties, must still be accounted sane, if the power of comparison be unharmed; and on the other hand, defective comparison does not constitute madness, unless it is attended by disease of one of the faculties. An individual may be subject, for instance, to false sensations; like Nicolai, of Berlin, he may be haunted with a succession of spectral images or phantoms; but retaining the power of comparing these false apparitions with the real objects that are around him, and thereby separating the imaginary from the true, he is not mad. He soon ceases to be alarmed by the presence of the phantasms, and finds a rational pleasure in watching and describing the succession of phenomena. After the cerebral excitement, which thus singularly affects his vision, has passed off, the spectral images disappear. To a person in a fever the bed may seem to be in flames, or his hearing may be afflicted with the murmur of many voices; so long as he can compare such sights and sounds with the real perceptions of sense, and describe them to his physician as mere imaginations growing out of his complaint, he is still in his right mind. As the fever mounts higher, this power of comparison is lost; the false sensations become realities to him, and occupy his whole attention. Then he is delirious.

To take an instance of the opposite character, the comparing faculty may be seriously impaired, while all the other powers of mind are in good condition; as in the case of an eccentric person, whose intellect seems to be monopolized by one idea. A religious devotee, a projector, an enthusiast, or what Sterne calls a *hobby-horsical* man, by dwelling to excess upon some darling thought or scheme, loses all proper judgment of its relative importance, disregards every thing else in the pursuit of it, and afflicts his friends by harping upon it both in season and out of season, till they are vexed enough to pronounce him mad. Of Howard, who paid such close and long-continued attention to the ameliora-

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tion of prisons, Dr. Reid remarked, that he would have been a madman, if he had not been a great philanthropist. A worthy mechanic is sometimes afflicted with the belief, that he has discovered perpetual motion ; or a conceited and superficial mathematician imagines, that he has found out the quadrature of the circle. They torment their acquaintances with fancied demonstrations of the process, or by enlarging on the importance of the discovery, till it appears a charitable remark to say, that they have lost their wits. Still, they are not insane ; when applied to any other subject than that which has so unfortunately mastered their judgment, all the powers of mind display their usual vigor. With regard to one topic only, the comparing faculty is injured or destroyed ; but as there is no impairment of the other faculties, Dr. Conolly pronounces them sane. The favorite project is often of so benevolent a character, or the individual frequently accomplishes so much for the cause of science by his devotion to a single object of inquiry, that we are forced to respect his motives or his powers, though we may smile at his delusion. Their neighbours consider them " wonderfully clever men, but certainly a little mad." Dr. Parr was wont to say of them, that they were certainly *cracked*, but that the crack *let in light*. Such notions, however, cannot long be indulged to excess with impunity ; the mind seems to give way, if too long drawn in one direction. False sensations are induced. The individual fancies he hears or sees that his impracticable project is accomplished, and that he already touches the reward of his labor. He is then cracked in good earnest.

Dr. Conolly's theory is quite a plausible one, and he applies it to the analysis of cases of insanity with great ingenuity and considerable success. We have room to cite but two short passages, showing the mode of its application for this purpose ; but the extracts give a fair specimen of the general reasoning of the author.

" The senses, we have seen, are subject to various delusions, particularly the senses of sight and hearing ; sometimes the sense of taste ; more rarely the sense of touch. A thousand instances are related of persons who have imagined some change to have been wrought in their appearance or structure. Men have believed themselves to be converted into tea-pots ; into barrels which were rolled along the street ; or into a town-pump, to

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which no rest was given from morning until night. A respectable tradesman fancied himself metamorphosed into a seven-shilling piece, and took the precaution of going round to those with whom he dealt, requesting, as a particular favor, that, if his wife should present him in payment, they would not give change for him. Others have imagined that some animal had found its way into the stomach, or that many armed knights were battling there; and some have thought themselves possessed of a double set of bowels, productive of discordant and highly inconvenient movements. It sometimes happens, that the difficulty of persuading a lunatic patient to take medicine is removed by his supposing it to be a delicious wine; he then drinks it with evident gratification. Mr. Bayle mentions the case of a lady, who put flints into all she drank, supposing them to be lumps of sugar.

"In all these cases, for they all admit of one explanation, there is first a morbid sensation. We have seen that a morbid sensation does not constitute madness. But this impairment of sensation becomes, in certain cases, productive of, or accompanied by, a loss of the comparing power; either productive of the loss by its force, or accompanied by it in consequence of some further disease, as of the attention or memory; and then there is madness. When a man can see, hear, eat, drink, and sleep, and yet affirms that he is a tea-pot, it is plain that he either has no sensation but that which gives him the impression of being a tea-pot, or that he cannot attend to other impressions so as to compare them with that morbid impression. If comparison were made by him, his belief would be at an end; for a tea-pot neither eats, nor drinks, nor sleeps. A man, who, sitting quietly in his room, believes himself to be a barrel rolled along the street, is, in the first place, the victim of a morbid sensation; but if he could compare the sensations arising from the objects actually around him with his morbid sensations, he would detect the delusion, and laugh at his morbid feelings. He cannot do this, either because he feels nothing but his morbid sensations, or cannot let his attention rest on other sensations; and, in either case, he is mad, because he cannot compare one sensation with another.

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"Dr. Mead relates, that an hypochondriacal student of Oxford, after leading a life of indolence, imagined he was at the hour of death, and ordered the passing-bell to be rung, that he might hear it before he died. He had been fond of bell-ringing himself, and finding the ringing execrable, leaped out of his supposed bed of death, and hastened to the belfry, to show how the

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bell *ought* to be rung; he then returned to his room, that he might die in a proper way. But the exercise taken on this occasion proved so beneficial to him, that he soon recovered from his hypochondriasis. The sensations of approaching death, and the exercise of running to the belfry, were, in this example, not compared with each other; the strength required to ring the bell, and the attention necessary for ringing it properly, were disregarded by the student. He could not attend to them, and compare them with his morbid impression of approaching death; therefore the morbid impression remained, and so long as it remained he was insane. The unusual circumstance of a man ordering his own passing-bell to be rung was not attended to; that is, certain comparisons were not made which would have shown him that is was unusual. Yet his sensations were not lost; he heard the unskilful ringing, and rose in a passion to rectify it; but he could compare none of these things with the morbid sensations of imaginary death." — Conolly *on Insanity*, pp. 309 – 313.

The defect of this theory seems to be, that it is properly applicable only to those cases of insanity which are attended with hallucination, and even here it does not describe the most characteristic feature of the malady. It does not extend to what we have called "moral idiocy," nor to impulsive insanity; for, in the former case, we cannot declare with certainty, that any one faculty of the mind is diseased, and in the latter, only the power of comparison is lost, and that only at the instant when the propensity masters the will. Again, it is only by an undue refinement of analysis, that the definition is made to cover many of the ordinary cases of insanity. A monomaniac fancies that his nearest friends have entered into a conspiracy to do him harm. Here is no illusion of the senses, and though, in ordinary parlance, the notion is said to be an imaginary one, there is, properly speaking, no general disease of the imagination, and no impairment of its wonted vigor. The unfounded belief is irrational, but it is not imaginative, as it would be, if the sufferer fancied, for instance, that he was an inhabitant of an enchanted castle, and was surrounded by gnomes and dwarfs obedient to his will. Nor is it a case of false sensation; the patient may not fancy that he sees his friends striking at him with daggers, or that he hears them loading him with jests and opprobrium. He sees and hears them just as other men do; but he puts a false construction upon all their

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acts. He imputes the basest motives to them, and treasures up in his memory their most insignificant motions as parts of one great design affecting his peace. He often shows remarkable ingenuity in these forced constructions, and will argue the matter till he frequently succeeds in puzzling his opponent. To affirm that the power of comparison here is impaired is only to palter with words. As in the case of Hamlet, we should say that there is rather an excess than a defect of the comparing faculty.

It seems to us, that the most characteristic trait, even of those cases which are cited by Dr. Conolly as exemplifications of his theory, is a loss of the indirect controlling power which the will usually exercises over the propensities and the processes of the understanding. We call this power *indirect*, because the will cannot immediately govern the belief, or the succession of ideas, so as to give distinctness to an imperfect recollection, or to put aside an unpleasant thought. But it can indirectly labor to these ends, and human reason differs from brute instinct in no respect so much as in this sovereignty, partial though it be, which the will and the conscience exercise over the swift currents of the thoughts, and the impulse of the desires. This is chiefly done through the faculty of attention, which is directly dependent on the will. We can stay the succession of ideas at any instant, in order to dwell upon a selected thought, till we have considered it in all its parts and relations. Comparison itself is rightly defined by Dr. Conolly, only as an act of alternate attention to two objects ; and it is therefore impaired or lost only when we cease to have command of the attention, because the will in this respect has become powerless. We distinguish fancies from realities only by an effort of attention to our sensations, which manifest the difference between the imaginary and the true. If circumstances prevent us from making this effort, we live in an unreal world, heedless and unconscious of external things. The same relaxation of the power of the will, by which mental phenomena are converted into real existences, removes all control and guidance from the thoughts, which then become confused and incoherent, a mere stream of inconsistent fancies. It is so in dreams ; every sleeper is a madman, and would appear as such, if the will did not lose its power over the body also, so that action no longer manifests the

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delusions of the intellect. In the case of somnambulism, the muscles remain subject to the volitions of the sleeper, while the mind is under no control. He is, therefore, really insane, and, as such, the law does not hold him responsible for his deeds. To remove the check which the will has over the thoughts is like taking away the balance-wheel from a watch, which then runs down with a hurried and irregular motion, no longer taking note of time. Every thinker perceives this effect if he abandons himself to a fit of reverie, when the most heterogeneous ideas chase each other in quick succession through the mind, without coherency or method, and leaving hardly a trace on the memory. Startle him from this state of dreamy abstraction, and he looks round bewildered, and requires a moment of effort, before he becomes conscious of his situation, and of the presence of surrounding things. Except the depression of spirits, he feels, for an instant, as Lear did, when wakening to a gleam of sanity, as the clouds which had obscured his intellect are for a moment parted. How admirably are the bewilderment of mind, and the effort to recall and fix the attention upon the bystanders, here depicted! It is the struggle of the will to regain its supremacy.

"Pray, do not mock me:
I am a very foolish, fond old man,
Fourscore and upward; and, to deal plainly,
I fear I am not in my perfect mind.
Methinks I should know you, and know this man;
Yet I am doubtful: for I am mainly ignorant
What place this is; and all the skill I have
Remembers not these garments; nor I know not
Where I did lodge last night. Do not laugh at me;
For, as I am a man, I think this lady
To be my child Cordelia."

In most cases of recovery, the patient retains no memory of what has occurred, or what he has done, during his madness; or, if any recollection remains, it is dim and perturbed, like that of a dream. Memory being dependent on attention, and that again on the will, this is precisely what we should expect when the power of volition is suspended. In cases of partial mania, the will loses its control over a particular thought, or set of ideas, which then occupy and harass the mind, being invested with a factitious importance, and leading to the most insane acts.

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A sane person, if an unpleasant thought or recollection comes upon him, can resolutely put it aside, and fix his attention upon other objects. But, if he be nervous and imaginative, irresolute of will, and defective in the power of attention, the unwelcome visitant — especially if it be of a gloomy or exciting character, like the recollection of a calamity, a disappointment, or an insult — usurps almost exclusive possession of the mind, and he sinks into habitual despondency. Every moment then increases his danger, and unless some counteracting cause, like the necessity for exertion, be applied, the train of thought at last entirely shakes off the sovereignty of the will, and the man becomes a monomaniac.

The particular character of the delusion will be determined by the patient's former prevailing turn of mind, and by the chief emotions to which he was subject. A man's character is not altered by an attack of insanity; it is only developed and exposed, the check which was usually imposed on its free manifestations being now taken away. A person of sound mind soon learns to control his desires and propensities, from a regard to the opinions or the rights of others. His irascibility is repressed, his estimation of himself is carefully concealed, his lower appetites are governed, and he maintains that reserved and staid demeanour, through which only a penetrating eye, and observation sharpened by long experience, can detect the innate peculiarities of his disposition. This lesson of self-control is learned at so early a period, and is practised upon so habitually, that one is hardly conscious of effort in submitting to it, unless the primitive desires are of extraordinary force. Let the power of the will be destroyed by an attack of mental disease, and this veil is removed; the passions run riot, the leading emotion betrays itself in the grossest manner, and the sufferer appears like another being, even to his most intimate friends.

The love of power, and an inordinate estimate of self, are among the most common infirmities of human nature; and nowhere are they so strikingly exhibited, though in a ludicrous light, as among the inmates of a lunatic asylum. Here comes a king of shreds and patches, with a paper crown on his head, and bits of tinsel showily disposed about his person, who announces himself as the Prince of Wales

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and emperor of the world, and greets his visiter with the utmost condescension, as he would a subject who had come to do him homage. But he suddenly breaks off in the midst of a pompous speech, to inform you, that he has just had a contest with the devil in that apartment, and had broken two of his ribs, — this devil being an unfortunate keeper, to whose face he had taken a dislike, and whose bones he had actually broken. The walls of his room are scribbled all over, chiefly with the lofty titles of his greatness ; as, " Supreme from the Almighty," " Mighty Prince," " Mighty General-in-Chief," " Great Mighty Grand Admiral," and the like.* Another of the company is a poor, mad author, who, in one hour, has written an epic, embracing the universal history of Greece and Rome ; has restored the Iliad to its state as it came from the genius of Kanki, who lived many millions of ages before the deluge of Ogyges ; and accounts for his wonderful endowments, by saying that he is a son of Jupiter and Juno. Scott has given us an admirable portrait of a deranged female, whose brain-sick fancies are only the foibles of the weaker part of her sex grossly exaggerated, and displayed without the least reserve. Madge Wildfire is insane from an excessive love of admiration, and an insatiable desire to dazzle and captivate ; and in all her ravings, her simpering manner, her fantastic costume, and bits of finery, we see only the ruling passion divested of any covering or control.

The strange jumble of fancies, which a distracted person exhibits, is nothing but the perfectly loose and casual succession of ideas in a mind which has emancipated itself from the governing power of the will. It is precisely the incoherency of a dream, when the thoughts ramble on without any restraint from volition, or any voluntary pause for the exercise of judgment. The utterly passive intellect merely reflects like a mirror the images that float before it, without receiving any impression from them, or preserving any trace of their passage. Outward objects have no longer their usual power to check the current of loose thoughts, and recall the mind to a consciousness of its situation ; the sleeper does not see them, and the insane person, from the defect in his will, can pay no attention to them. The dream of

* Conolly *on Insanity*, p. 289.

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the madman lasts longer ; but in every other respect, it is like the night-visions of the perfectly healthy intellect. He has the command of his limbs, also, but he walks in his sleep, and has as little perception of external things as the common somnambulist.

The application of this theory to the cases of moral idiocy and impulsive insanity is very easily made. Our position is, that mental disease is nothing more than the suspension of the ordinary power of the will over the other powers of the mind. The thoughts and actions then become entirely irrational, not because reason and judgment, properly speaking, cease to exist, but because they are both acts consequent upon attention, and, of course, cannot manifest themselves when the attention is no longer under control. These noble faculties, then, neither decay nor are subject to disease ; they are simply suspended from the exercise of their functions by the impairment of another power which is a prerequisite to their use ; and when the madman's sleep is ended, they revive and perform their accustomed office. In the same way, the loss of power in the will suspends the exercise of the moral faculty. In moral mania, the conscience "is not dead, but sleepeth." The desires and propensities then exist with no more than their usual force ; but they are entirely free from restraint by the will. All the active principles of our nature then reign unchecked, and one is quite as likely to be governed by the more noble, as by the more debasing, among their number. In the instance already cited from Pinel, brutal and violent as were most of the actions of the young man, we learn that he readily gave way, at times, to motions of beneficence and compassion. He was literally the creature of his impulses, and blindly followed them, whether they pointed to good or evil. His condition, then, was very like that of other maniacs, who are commonly said to be subject to insane impulses ; only, in his case, the will seemed to be absolutely bereft of its rightful authority over the passions, while in theirs it is powerless only at intervals, or under particular excitement. Strictly speaking, the impulse is not a mark of insanity, nor unusual in its character. The thought of killing may frequently enter the mind of a passionate but perfectly sane person ; but it is instantly put aside, as an idle or wicked fancy, by the conscience. The will masters such vague but

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horrible thoughts almost without the consciousness of effort. But as the gradual approach of disease weakens its command over the succession of ideas, the devilish thought intrudes more frequently, and will not "down at his bidding." An air-drawn dagger becomes visible to his "heat-oppressed brain," and he clutches the real weapon at last, in what is, for the moment, an uncontrollable frenzy.

But we return from this long digression to our proper subject, the jurisprudence of insanity. Our definition or theory of insanity, like that of Dr. Conolly, whatever may be thought of its general soundness, is merely speculative in this respect, and throws no light upon the difficult question, how far the responsibility of crime is taken away by the apparent disease of the intellect. Indeed, enough has been said to show, that it is impossible to frame a definition which shall be of use for this purpose. The only feature which the different forms of the malady have in common is of so hidden and mysterious a character, that it cannot be detected, by observation from without, with that degree of assurance which is requisite for legal decisions. Meanwhile, the frequency with which the plea of insanity has been successfully put forward of late, in criminal cases, is quite remarkable, and tends to agitate the community with contradictory fears, either lest the guilty should in this way escape unpunished, and the peace of society be endangered, or lest the extreme vengeance of the laws should fall on the heads of those who are wholly unconscious of crime. The evil is aggravated by the view of some absurdities in the law regarding insanity, which had their origin at a time when our knowledge of the disease was far less complete than it is at present, and which are preserved through the lawyer's respect for precedents, and his belief in the necessary rigidity of legal maxims. One of the most flagrant of these is, the distinction made between civil and criminal cases, according to which, a man may be incapacitated for the management of his own concerns, but is still held answerable for acts affecting the peace of the community. He may be declared incapable of making a will, but if the imbecility of his mind betrays him into an act of violence, he is still deemed a proper subject for the gallows. It is not surprising, that juries are sometimes found to disregard instructions from the bench, when they are of this character.

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In view of all the difficulties of the subject, we cannot but think, that respect for the laws, confidence in the legal tribunals, and the peace of society, will be best secured by the entire abolition of the punishment of death. Juries shrink with a just and natural horror from the idea of taking the life of a human being who has been hurried into crime by a terrible and inscrutable malady, brought upon him by the act of God. The indications of the disease may be so faint, that even the medical witnesses will hesitate to pronounce the man insane. But the reluctance to take life under any circumstances impels the jurors to avail themselves of the slightest doubt, and the accused is acquitted, though he has committed an unprovoked murder, attended with circumstances of such shocking barbarity, that the feelings of the whole community have been strongly excited against him, and the demand for condign punishment has been loud and incessant. The more terrible the nature of the crime, the more savage and motiveless, the more destitute of palliating circumstances, the greater is the probability that no one but a madman could have committed it. So reason the persons who are charged with the awful responsibility of deciding upon the fate of the accused, and to whom alone are directly made known the multitude of little facts, which obscurely intimate the derangement of his intellect. But the community at large, acquainted only with the broad and obvious features of the case, reason far differently. They murmur that the laws are not enforced, that guilt is triumphant, and the life of no man is secure. And yet, so wavering and inconsistent is this popular judgment, that, if the person has been convicted and sentenced, before the gibbet can be erected, a morbid sympathy for his case affects the minds of men, and they now clamor as loudly for his pardon, as they formerly did for his condemnation.

Acquittals on the ground of insanity have been frequent of late, both in England and this country; and much uneasiness is felt, lest the administration of the laws should fail to do justice to the accused, or to prevent the commission o crime. The recent cases of Oxford and McNaughton in London, — which excited so much clamor, that the Lords required the twelve judges to declare what was the law respecting insanity, and thus to quiet the public mind, — and

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those of Mercer at Philadelphia, and of Abner Rogers at Boston, have done much to develope this feeling. The cry now is, that there will be a reaction, and that juries will no longer listen to the vague plea so easily preferred, that the accused was not of sound mind, and therefore not amenable to punishment. Yet, in most cases, the subsequent history of the accused has shown that the suspicion of insanity was well founded. Abner Rogers, after his acquittal, was removed to Worcester hospital, where the indications of his malady became very apparent, and the close of his life left no doubt upon the subject. One day, when the inmates of the institution were collected together in the chapel, a fit of frenzy came upon him, and, before he could be prevented, he plunged through a window, which was fifteen feet from the ground, and was killed by the fall. The concurring testimony of all keepers of lunatic asylums is, that, in the cases of persons committed to their charge, who had been acquitted of crime, because believed to be insane, with hardly an exception, such decided symptoms of mania have appeared, that it was held unsafe to dismiss them from the institution. Dr. Woodward had doubts in one case, but expresses himself with perfect conviction respecting all the others. His evidence upon this head, and that of several others equally well qualified to form an opinion, are given in a note by Dr. Ray, to which we refer our readers.

Still, the belief is general, that insanity may be feigned, or eccentricity or waywardness may be mistaken for it, and thus crime will escape the retribution which is its due. The existence of this belief tends to impair confidence in the action of the legal tribunals, and is, therefore, in itself an evil of no slight magnitude. Take away the punishment of death, and the whole difficulty disappears. Then, if the plea of insanity be brought forward, the only question will be, whether the accused ought to be incarcerated for life in a prison or a lunatic asylum ; and so far as the safety of the community is concerned, the determination of this question is a matter of no importance. The jury will come to the consideration of it with minds entirely free from bias or prejudice. In England, we believe, the insane homicide is never again permitted to go at large, and this certainly ought to be the rule in our own country. The admitted maxim, that the certainty of punishment is of much greater weight in de-

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terring from crime than its severity, adds much force to these considerations.

Mr. Sampson, an English writer of some authority upon criminal jurisprudence, even endeavours to prove, that the operation of the law, as it now stands, is to awaken and encourage the homicidal propensity. His arguments derive weight from the explanations we have endeavoured to give of the nature and tendency of the different forms of mental disease. The sight of an execution, or even the knowledge that one has taken place, tends to develope the destructive impulse in the minds of those who are prone to it, and to excite that obscure operation of sympathy which was alluded to in speaking of the cases of suicide from the monument. Thus the punishment, instead of having a beneficial effect upon the minds of those who labor under homicidal tendencies, actually stimulates them to the crime.

"He infers, from an attentive examination of the subject, that, at least in two out of three instances, suicide has been attempted previously to the perpetration of the murder, and that the state of mind which impels them to commit murder renders them desirous of self-destruction. Those who are found most frequently at executions are persons in whom the destructive propensity is in a state of morbid excitability. The fact mentioned by Mr. Ewart in the House of Commons, and referred to by Mr. Sampson, certainly strengthens his position. It appears, that, out of 167 persons who had been executed during a certain period, 164 were found to have been present at executions." — Winslow *on Insanity*, p. 81.

We have considered but a small number of the topics which are treated at length in Dr. Ray's valuable and interesting work. His views in relation to all of them are entitled to much respect, from the abundant opportunities which he has enjoyed for observation, and from the candor, acuteness, and sound judgment, which he displays in discussing all the mooted points of his subject. The book abounds with curious information and food for thought, and may be heartily commended to the attention of the general student, as well as of those whose professional pursuits give them an immediate interest in the matters of which it treats.

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ART. II. — *An Address delivered before the Society of the Alumni of Harvard University, on their Anniversary, August* 27, 1844. By DANIEL APPLETON WHITE. Cambridge: John Owen. 1844. 8vo. pp. 42.

THE *Alumni* of Harvard University were peculiarly fortunate in selecting, as the orator for their recent anniversary, one whom many years of intimate connection with that institution had made conversant with its history, condition, claims, and wants, and who had gained the right to speak with authority of the duties of the graduates to their *Alma Mater*, by his own faithful services on her boards of instruction and supervision, and by untiring devotion to her interests. His address is full of valuable suggestions with reference to college discipline, and bears throughout the tokens of sound discretion and great practical wisdom. It is, at the same time, a scholarly production, rich in classical and literary allusions and quotations, and bearing numerous marks of the liberal tastes and pursuits to which the author's life has been consecrated. We avail ourselves of its appearance, to fulfil a long cherished purpose of presenting our views of the present condition and wants of our venerable University; and, in doing this, we shall refer freely to the address before us, in illustration and corroboration of our statements.

The means of liberal education now presented at Cambridge are undoubtedly more ample than at any previous period, and far surpass those enjoyed at any other literary institution on this side of the Atlantic. The chairs of instruction, with hardly an exception, are filled by men of well known and eminent scholarship in their respective departments, and of exemplary diligence and zeal in the cultivation of literature and science. The library, meagre as it is when compared with those of European universities, is beyond comparison more valuable than any other in America, and has of late increased with unexampled rapidity. In point of scientific collections and apparatus, Harvard, though for a time behind Yale, must now, with her new and splendidly furnished observatory, take precedence in the department of astronomy, and in that of natural science is fast gaining ground on her only competitor. The standard of qualifications for admission at Cambridge has been greatly raised

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within a few years, and the examinations are so rigorously conducted, as to make the admission of the few dunces and drones who enter there a miracle. The amount of learning, which may be acquired there by industrious and ambitious students, is much larger and more various, than it formerly was; and the instruction given to such students is as thorough and faithful as could be desired. The courses of lectures annually delivered there comprise a very extended circle of liberal studies ; they are all accurate and able expositions of the branches of knowledge, to which they respectively appertain; and some of them add the attraction of commanding eloquence to that of profound learning, while others, no less valuable and useful, serve, indeed, to remind the hearer, that the Muses do not always dwell together. In fine, our University may now be said to lack no desirable facility for the cultivation of any branch of knowledge, that can properly come within the range of a collegiate course.

But, notwithstanding the superior advantages which it offers, (and which, we are glad to see, are embraced, the present year, by an unusually large number of professional students,) Harvard College, in the most populous part of the whole country, has remained stationary as to the number of undergraduates, for twenty or thirty years, while the younger New England colleges are every year admitting larger and larger classes. Nay, more, considered as the college of Massachusetts and New England, Harvard has been constantly losing patronage. Were it not for the more than quadrupled population of Boston and its environs, the Cambridge catalogues would have exhibited an annual decrease for the last twenty years. Twenty years ago, about one fifth of the undergraduates were from Boston, and about one fourth from places within ten miles of the College. Now, about one third are from Boston, and not far from one half come from towns within ten miles of Cambridge. Meanwhile, the catalogues of other colleges have shown an annually increasing number of students, who, coming from the immediate vicinity of Cambridge, must needs have had some peculiarly stringent reason for resorting to colleges situated one, two, or three hundred miles distant from their homes.

This state of things is not to be accounted for by the increased number of colleges; for there has been but one new college established in New England for the last twenty years;

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the number of students at Yale, instead of falling off, has increased of late years; and Harvard College has a much larger population in its immediate vicinity than Yale or Dartmouth, though it has fewer students than either of these institutions. Still less are we inclined to ascribe this state of things to any actual change in the relative position of our University, among the literary institutions of the country. Other colleges have, indeed, greatly improved. The numerous academic corps of Yale contains professors second to none in their respective departments. The little company of instructers at Bowdoin is composed of men of signal diligence and ability; while Bowdoin, as well as Brown University, attracts much interest and patronage, from the well known and eminent talents of its presiding officer. Dartmouth College has a body of industrious and faithful teachers, and has undoubtedly raised its literary standard for the lovers of study; but its increased advantages are, in our judgment, more than counterbalanced by the introduction of a system, which dispenses with all college honors, assigns all public performances by lot, and leaves the student destitute of any stimulus from without to persevering diligence. But whatever improvements may have been made in other colleges, we cannot but think that Harvard has advanced *pari passu*, and still maintains her precedence of the rest, both as to the advantages directly offered, and as to all collateral encouragements and aids to a liberal education. This, we believe, is generally conceded by the *alumni* and patrons of other colleges; or, where any distinction is claimed in behalf of any other institution, it is at least admitted, that, if a student may acquire less, he also has the means of acquiring more, at Harvard than elsewhere. Yet, notwithstanding this, it must be confessed, that Harvard has, of late, been constantly losing ground in the esteem and patronage of the community at large, and is fast becoming simply a high school for a portion of the youth of Boston and its vicinity.

Pecuniary considerations, no doubt, deter many students from entering at Harvard. The course there is, indeed, an expensive one, for reasons entirely beyond the control of the College boards. Most of the expenses are determined by local causes, which they cannot obviate. The price of board depends on the cost of rent, fuel, and provisions,

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which is necessarily high in the environs of an overflowing city. Then, too, the general style of dress and furniture is made more sumptuous than is needful, by the vicinity of the city, and by the large proportion of the students who are from rich and fashionable families. Yet in all these things there is room for economy without reproach; and an indigent young man, who sees fit to practise rigid self-denial to secure to himself the highest literary privileges, only elevates himself thereby in his social position among his fellow-students. The charges made directly by the College are low. A student, who shares with another a college room, pays but *fifteen* dollars a year for rent and care of room. The tuition fee, including the use of the library and the expenses of lecture rooms, is but *seventy-five* dollars *per annum*, — a large amount, indeed, compared with that charged at many other colleges, and with the ability of many students, yet less than the tuition fee at any respectable high school in this vicinity, and pitifully small, when considered with reference to the extent and variety of the privileges to which it introduces the student. Nor is it possible for the College, in the present state of its funds, to reduce this fee. It is said, indeed, that the College is rich; but its wealth in one aspect makes it poor in another. About three fourths of its invested funds were bestowed for specific ends, and are not available for the general expenses of the institution. Very few of these specific endowments are sufficient for the purposes for which they were given; — most of them require, every year, additional appropriations from other sources. Under these circumstances, the full tuition fee is absolutely needed. Nor, in truth, should we desire to see it less; but would be glad to have it raised. We like to see things appraised with some reference to their true value. A liberal education is too good a gift to be offered at a paltry price. Raise its cost, and it will be more highly esteemed, and more ambitiously sought. We have heard complaints of college bills from men who would spend more than a year's tuition fee on a single dinner-party, and whose servants' wages a professor's entire salary would hardly pay. Now we can see no reason why the parent, who denies himself and his family no indulgence or luxury which can be bought with money, should sue *in formâ pauperis* before the College faculty, and expect to pay less for his son's education, than the boy will

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pay to his boot-black. The College ought, however, to be enabled to remit all charge for tuition to students both indigent and meritorious, so that those who cannot pay may be taught without price. We would earnestly recommend a provision of this kind, as one of the most useful forms which private munificence could take. The donor might, it is true, gain more *éclat* by founding a professorship, which should bear his name down to posterity in connection with its honored incumbents ; but in no way could he act so surely upon coming generations for the advancement of literature and science, as by removing the obstacles which poverty puts in the way of so many youth of genius and promise.

Harvard College has, we doubt not, lost much patronage from its supposed connection with a particular religious sect. It is often spoken of as a sectarian institution. No imputation could be more unfounded. The whole administration of the College has, in this regard, been eminently catholic. The services at the College chapel are, indeed, conducted exclusively by Unitarian divines ; but the students are at liberty to attend the churches of the other denominations in the vicinity. Most of the professors and instructers, also, are Unitarians ; but Episcopalians and Calvinists have not been wanting on the board, whose religious sentiments have been well known at the time of their election; nor do we believe that a Unitarian, as such, would be elected to office in preference to another candidate of equal qualifications. We have been conversant with the administration of the College, both as a student and an instructer, and can bear our cheerful testimony, without fear of the production of a single fact to the contrary, that favoritism towards students on sectarian grounds is a thing unheard of, — that students of all denominations have been treated with equal fairness, justice, and kindness, — and that, for the petty offices, scholarships, and exhibitions, at the disposal of the faculty, the combined ratio of need and merit has constituted the only claim. Were we to make any exception to these remarks, we should refer to the presidency of Dr. Kirkland, and to his marked partiality for the beneficiaries of the American Education Society. He had, of course, no sympathy with their peculiar system of theology ; but he respected them on the score of their reputed piety, their exemplary morals, their healthful social influence, and the sacred profession for which they were destined ; and,

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not unfrequently, he eked out, from his own private income, the scanty charity on which they were dependent.

But then there is the Unitarian Divinity school, which now constitutes a distinct department of the University, and must needs, in the eyes of the public, reflect back upon the College its own theological character. There it is, standing, we admit, where it ought not. It is our earnest desire and hope, that this school may soon be divorced from the College. But its existence results from no alienation of college funds for the benefit of sectarian theology. Its building was erected, its professors are supported, by funds bestowed by Unitarians, and with the express design and purpose of providing for the education of Unitarian clergymen; and for the clerical services which the professors perform for the whole University, they are left without compensation. No trust, therefore, would be violated, should the theological endowments be separated from the property of the College, and given to a distinct board of trustees; and such an arrangement, though not within the scope of a judicial tribunal, might be authorized by an act of special legislation. The building might then be sold, or devoted to other uses, and the school removed to some town, where it should have an independent existence, and be a distinct and prominent object of interest and patronage to the denomination with which it is connected. As friends of both institutions, we would advocate this measure. They would live best apart. The Divinity school is now overshadowed and dwarfed by the College, which, solicitous to shun the charge of sectarianism, doles out its support in scanty pecuniary justice, without extending to its interests the judicious supervision and beneficence, of which it stands in imminent need. Nor, so long as that school exists in nominal connection with the College, can the College, even by the utter neglect or disregard of its concerns, escape the imputation, among ignorant and bigoted people, of lending its influence and patronage to the growth of Unitarianism.

In this connection, we wish to say a few words with reference to the Hollis professorship of divinity. It is made a frequent ground of reproach to the University, that, while the statutes of the professorship require that its incumbent should be a man "of sound and orthodox principles," the venerable Dr. Ware, a well known Unitarian, should have

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been for thirty-five years professor on the Hollis foundation. The statements made, and the documentary evidence adduced on this subject, in President Quincy's History of the University, ought to put this complaint for ever at rest. From this, it appears, that Hollis, himself a Baptist, was exceedingly reluctant to admit into the articles of his foundation any religious test, except a recognition of the Scriptures as the "most perfect rule of faith and practice." He resisted the introduction of the very words "sound and orthodox," on the ground that New England orthodoxy laid at that time emphatic stress on the obligation of infant baptism; and, though, in a truly catholic spirit, he claimed not the exclusive benefit of his numerous benefactions for those of his own communion, he was unwilling, in express terms, to provide for their perpetual exclusion. Wearied by the importunity of his American friends, he at length consented to the insertion of the obnoxious words; and in fact, in the case of the first professor, his apprehensions were realized, — "the divine right of infant baptism" having been one of the points on which the candidate's orthodoxy was tested. The College corporation, therefore, in dispensing with all sectarian tests, in the case of Dr. Ware, complied with the expressly and repeatedly declared desire and purpose of Hollis.

But waiving this point, had an account current been kept between the salary of the Hollis professor and the endowment from which he derives his name, that endowment would have become extinct long before Dr. Ware's accession to the chair; and it would appear conclusively, that, prior to the close of the eighteenth century, the College had invested in orthodox divinity of the said century the entire principal and interest of this much vexed foundation. Hollis made provision for a salary of but forty pounds, — then deemed sufficient for the purpose, but subsequently found utterly inadequate. In fact, the funds of the professorship have long since been merged in the general funds of the College, and the continuance of the name of Hollis in connection with it is simply an appropriate expression of respect to the memory of an early and munificent benefactor. But as, in sectarian warfare, the refutation of a serious charge goes for naught, and as a professorship of divinity cannot but impart a sectarian aspect to the institution, why might it not be the wisest policy for the College to cancel that office, — now vacant, —

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to abolish the chapel services on the Sabbath, and to make the performance of the daily devotional service the duty, as it formerly was, of a part or the whole of the faculty in rotation? We believe, that the religious good of the students would be more surely consulted by making them members of common Christian congregations; and, as for the service of morning and evening prayer, we should delight in the obligation which such a duty would impose upon the instructers to be themselves men of a devout spirit and a religious walk; and we should prize most highly, from our remembrances of former times, the influence and weight of character, which would accrue to them from the regular and appropriate performance of this service.

The causes already referred to go far towards accounting for the present condition of Harvard College, in regard to the number of undergraduates. Pecuniary considerations and sectarian preferences operate largely against it; and we doubt whether it can at present gain increased patronage, if its general course of study continue parallel with that pursued at other colleges, however much more accurate and thorough may be the instruction dispensed. A mere difference in degree will not be appreciated.

But why may there not be also a difference in kind? Why might there not be instituted at Cambridge a course of studies for students of much higher attainments than those now admitted,—a course, on which the graduates of other colleges might be just qualified to enter? The present instructers are amply competent to initiate their pupils into the most recondite branches of mathematical and physical science, and to conduct them through the most extensive course of classical reading. Many young men every year enter upon their professional studies prematurely, for the sole reason, that they otherwise have no opportunity of pursuing a regular and profitable course of study. There are many, who would not deem their education completed, so long as there was a higher seminary of learning, to which they could resort. Our highest standard of college education in this country is scandalously low. An intelligent and industrious youth of *sixteen* may easily reach the first university honors of the country, with attainments which would barely qualify him to enter a European university. A student at Cambridge, who continues his classical studies

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through the whole four years, reads in Latin select portions of Livy, Horace, Juvenal, Cicero against Verres and De Officiis, the Medea of Seneca, and the Aulularia of Plautus, and in Greek a nearly equivalent amount. On the completion of this course, he is no more than well prepared to commence reading the classics, no longer as a task-work, but with taste, discrimination, and enjoyment. Even this is a higher point than a student can reach anywhere else in the country. It is absurd, then, to speak of the *amount* of classical requirements and attainments at any of our seminaries of learning; they must be estimated in the style in which Dickens gives the dimensions of the Lilliputian steamboat on the Connecticut, — "thirty feet *short* by six feet *narrow*."

But at Cambridge, even this brief and scanty measure of classical learning can be attained only by entire abstinence from several important branches of general culture, and by comparative neglect of the modern languages. If pupils were received at Harvard at nearly the point of literary acquisition, at which they are now sent forth, the institution would become at once, and long continue, without a rival, the University of America. Studious young men from all other colleges, and from every part of the United States, would be drawn together there; and the list of undergraduates would soon exhibit as large a proportion of names from distant parts of the country, as does now that of the members of the Law school, nearly half of whom are from the Middle, Western, and Southern States.

Could such a course as this be established, many of the features of the German university system might be advantageously adopted. The studies to be pursued, the books to be read, might with propriety be left, in a great degree, to the option of the student. Recitations might, for the most part, be superseded by lectures, and by critical expositions of classical authors. The attainment of a degree might be made to depend on a series of thorough, searching examinations. The professors, under such a system, should depend in part for their compensation on the number of students, whom, by their talents and reputation, they could attract to their respective departments. We would not have them, however, without some fixed stipend. A man should be relieved from solicitude about his daily bread, in order that

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he may devote himself freely and heartily to intellectual labor. But we would take a hint from the plan now generally adopted in respect to the masters of our freighting ships, who receive a monthly stipend sufficient for bare support, but depend for all beyond on a commission upon the freights that they can earn. We would have each professor paid by the College the lowest salary that would suffice for a respectable livelihood, and let him add thereto as much as he can by a tuition fee from every scholar who joins his classes or attends his lectures. On this plan, the College, with its present permanent sources of income, could support a larger number of professors than at present; for, under such an arrangement, tutors and mere officers of police might be dispensed with, a senior professor might be the literary head of the University, and a treasurer might be the only salaried officer other than the professors.

An institution thus organized would be of incalculable benefit to the whole country. Its influence would be at once most sensibly felt in the (so called) learned professions. It would redeem them from the curse of extreme juvenility, under which the land groans. It would prescribe a thorough basis of liberal culture for those who aspire to eminence in professional life. It would fix the scholarly habits of its graduates, and make them reading, thinking, improving men for life; whereas now, half of our graduates can exhibit, ten years after leaving college, no marks of a liberal education except its parchment testimonial. It would raise up a generation of scholars worthy of the name, and would enlist very many so earnestly and zealously in literary and classical pursuits, and give them such facility in the acquisition of knowledge, that they could not fail of attaining eminence as profound critics, original thinkers, and able writers.

But all this, desirable as it is, is more than we can at present expect; though we believe that Harvard University is destined, at some future time, to assume this position; and we cannot but trust, that, by calling the attention of our readers to the need of higher means of culture than are now enjoyed, we may have done something towards the ultimate supply of such means. Very different, however, from the plan which we have sketched, should be the system of discipline and instruction for the class of

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students, that now, from year to year, enter the University. In marking out a suitable course for them, their average age should be taken particularly into the account. Accustomed to the juvenile aspect of the students at Cambridge, we seem to ourselves, when on the grounds of any other college, to be among the posterity of Anak. On our first visit to Dartmouth College, we met the entire senior class coming from a recitation, and, judging from their athletic forms and bronzed faces, that they were the substantial young yeomanry of the neighbourhood, then at the village to attend some *caucus* or merry-making, we asked, after they had gone by, "Why do we meet no students?" The members of that college are capable of casting so large a vote, that the reigning party in the State have thought it necessary to incur the odium of disfranchising them, — a game, which, at Cambridge, would not be worth the candle. The majority of the students at Cambridge are the growth of the most approved system of hot-bed cultivation; as Freshmen, they are microscopic objects; they take their degrees in early boyhood; and our venerable University is fast becoming, in a double sense, "*gentis cunabula nostræ.*"

For students generally so immature in years, and with a course of preparatory study so limited as is the case at present, we cannot but deem the system of elective studies highly inexpedient. There is, indeed, a point, at which students, who have previously pursued the same course, ought to diverge, and thenceforward to shape their plan of study with reference to their respective tastes, professions, or destinations in life. But by placing this point of divergence too early, though you may not, indeed, disqualify the student for success in any one profession or calling, you incur the risk of sending him forth into life with a disproportioned, one-sided, defective education. We grant, that, in order to preach acceptably, to maintain a lawsuit successfully, or to blister, bleed, and purge, a man needs acquaintance neither with Horace nor with Homer, and has little occasion to refer to fluxions or to conic sections. But the country is flooded with these professional hacks, — with men, who are adroit and popular in the routine of professional duty, but who could be termed literary men only by the grossest of misnomers. Such men are produced with sufficient rapidity without aid from our colleges. The ob-

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ject of a college education is not, or should not be, to qualify a young man for entering upon his professional studies, but to give him literary tastes and intellectual habits, to spread before him the various departments of learning in their mutual relations and bearings, to make him acquainted in each department with the sources of knowledge and the modes of investigation, to awaken his curiosity on a wide range of subjects, and to make him, wherever his lot is cast, the judicious friend and patron of education and of all liberal pursuits. In order to do this, the student should acquire a sufficient knowledge of other languages than his own, to fix in his mind the great principles of general grammar and comparative philology, and to acquaint him with the sources and relations of his own vernacular tongue. He should read enough of the classics to give him correct ideas of that early Greek and Roman culture, which has transfused itself into every form of modern civilization, art, and literature. He should study mathematics so far as to train his mind to accurate reasoning, and to gain some adequate conception of the processes by which calculations are made and results reached in astronomy and its kindred sciences. In metaphysics and ethics, he should at least learn the history of the principal theories and systems, should be made aware of the points at issue and the state of the controversy on each, and should be put in possession of waymarks to guide him in his future inquiries and reflections.

Now, the student at Cambridge may perform creditably all that is required of him, and yet may make such a choice of studies as to leave himself grossly deficient in some of these essential branches of a good education. He may read in Latin only Horace and a part of Livy, or, in Greek, Xenophon's Anabasis, two books of the Odyssey, and a book or two of Herodotus. He may suspend the study of either or both of these languages at the end of his first year, without having attained any good degree of ease or skill in reading Latin or Greek, and at precisely that stage of acquisition, at which what has been learned will surely be forgotten, or at most enough only will be retained to enable him, by much conjuring, to divine the sense of a random classical quotation. In mathematics, he may study merely an elementary treatise on geometry, part of a treatise on algebra, and the formu-

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las of plane and spherical trigonometry, omitting their "applications to navigation, surveying, and spherical astronomy"; and he may thus go through life, a liberally educated man in his own esteem, without any knowledge of the principles on which the laws of the visible universe are ascertained and its phenomena calculated, or even of the way in which the navigator finds his place at sea, or the surveyor the area of a many-angled field. A graduate thus deficient in either of these branches of education is not prepared to be even an intelligent member of a high-school committee, or trustee of an academy, or to ascertain the qualifications of a teacher. He cannot in any community assume the place, fulfil the trusts, and discharge the duties, that are by common consent yielded to men of collegiate education. He must through life incur the liabilities and bear the burdens, not only of an imperfectly educated man, but, what is much worse, of one who purports to be what he is not.

Some, who coincide with these views in the main, contend that they need to be modified in the mathematical department; for, say they, there are many good minds that seem to have a natural inaptitude for mathematical reasoning. But we are disposed to think, that even such minds may gain in vigor and comprehensiveness by the effort of mathematical study, even though they make imperfect recitations, and are conscious of retaining very little of what they learn. There might, however, be two distinct courses of mathematics, between which the student might have his option, — one, which, in addition to the present *minimum* course, should embrace the applications to navigation, surveying, and astronomy, now omitted, — and one which should initiate the student into those branches that demand a knowledge of the differential and integral calculus.

One capital objection to the plan of elective studies is, that, in nine cases out of ten, the choice will be made by the very party that ought not to make it, — by the student himself. Many parents are unable to make a judicious choice for their sons, and many others will feel unwilling to interfere with the choice which their sons may make. Most of the students are too young to be trusted to mark out their own course of study, and that is the very reason why they are at college, instead of studying at their own homes. A

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youth of sixteen, even if he be a Sophomore, has not self-knowledge enough to discriminate between whim and taste, disinclination and incapacity, love of letters and love of ease. He knows too little of his future life to determine what branches of knowledge will be of most avail in after-years. He will be affected by the love of learning and the thirst for knowledge less than by a thousand other motives. If indolent, he will choose the easiest course. If studiously disposed, he yet may select studies for which he has already formed a taste, in preference to those for which he ought to acquire a taste. If ambitious, he will enter the classes in which he knows that he can excel, instead of supplying deficiencies in the branches in which he has been imperfect. There is an essential truth implied in that well known hymn, which breathes a prayer for

"Not what we wish, but what we want."

A youth's wishes and wants are very apt not to coincide, and his choice of studies would always be governed by his wishes, not by his wants. In most cases, he would need, for the just balance of his powers, and the fit proportion of his culture, diligent discipline in precisely the studies which he would not choose, or would abandon at an early period in his course.

It is said, indeed, that the experiment of elective studies has resulted in the production of better classical and mathematical scholars than were sent from Cambridge previously, and in a most manifest improvement in the appearance of the scholars at their examinations. Of this we have no doubt. Let a similar experiment be tried in any common school; let only the bright or the willing boys be put upon the more difficult branches of study, and let the dull and lazy be kept upon the primer and the spelling-book, and that school will turn out eminently good scholars, and will outshine all others in its public examinations. But the parents of the neglected boys would feel themselves authorized to make loud and bitter complaints of the teacher, who, without dismissing them from his school, made no attempt to extend to them its full privileges. Had we a son in whose talents and application we had entire confidence, we should certainly send him to Cambridge under the present *régime;* but were he not above mediocrity, we should fear that his

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interests would be sacrificed to those of his more capable and diligent fellow-students. Youth of inferior capacity, or of less studious habits, ought either to be dismissed from college, or, if retained, should have all possible diligence and effort bestowed upon them to bring them as near as may be to the standard of the more highly endowed or the more industrious. With regard to the practical working of the system of instruction under discussion, we dare not trust the judgment of the instructers themselves, for whom, nevertheless, we entertain sentiments of the highest respect and esteem. Their time is now, no doubt, more fully and much more pleasantly occupied than under the former system; they are surrounded by more striking evidences of proficiency than before; and it is hardly possible that they should not feel most sensibly every advantage, and be blind to every evil, flowing from the plan now in operation.

The present system does injustice to the public, as well as to the individual students. A diploma from the first literary institution in the country ought to be *primâ facie* evidence that the student has at least passed through, without scandalous delinquency, certain essential departments of a liberal education. It is an imposition upon the whole community, to confer a title declarative of respectable literary attainments upon a young man oblivious of what Latin and Greek he once knew, with a little French and a little Spanish, a *quantulum* of wayside knowledge gleaned from lecture-rooms, and a smattering of half a dozen branches of science, that might as well have been studied at a country academy. It is said, indeed, that the certificates of proficiency in different departments, which accompany the diploma, must be sought as the true evidence of what the graduate has accomplished and attained. What, then, is the use of the diploma? The certificates can never be a matter of public notoriety; the diploma is so, nor ought it ever to be conferred, where in justice those certificates would need to be withheld.

But it is said, that there are many young men, preparing for mercantile and active life, who want little classical learning, and need not the higher branches of mathematics, who, if they can choose their own studies, will be induced to pass through college. There are also many bachelors, who wear broadcloth, yet buy no groceries, but would buy their

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broadcloth of the grocer, if he would keep a good assortment. Is he therefore bound to sell broadcloth? The University is not obliged to furnish to order all kinds and measures of education. Its avowed object is the cultivation of the higher departments of literature and science; nor can it justly be expected to supply wants of a different class. If a young man desires an education of a lower grade, there are numerous high-schools and academies adapted to the measure of his desire. Or, by a long standing regulation of the University, he may there become a student in certain departments, without being a candidate for a degree. But if, after pursuing this partial course, he wishes to palm himself upon the world as a man of liberal education, let not the University by its parchment become an accomplice in the fraud.

We would have, then, the regular course of college studies the same for all. We would have it adapted in kind and quality to the average capacity of the students. Some may break down on the course; let them leave the ground. Others may be able to do more; let them select voluntary studies sufficient to fill their time and task their powers, without expecting these studies to have any weight in the scale of merit, or the conferment of college honors.

We pass to another head of remark. For students as young as those at Harvard generally are, we doubt whether the rigid forms of thorough recitation can be relaxed to advantage. Scholars of their age have seldom formed self-dependent habits of study; they are still, in a great degree, eye-servants; they have much, in the buoyancy of their spirits, and in the attractions of society, to render close application difficult; and lessons, in which they are not thoroughly examined, will be in many cases slighted. At that age, too, the power of continuous attention to the living voice is but imperfectly developed, and mere lecturing or exposition would be in a great degree wasted. We would not, however, have recitation the sole class exercise, even in a single instance; nor would we tolerate an instructer who could be nothing more than a task-master. Let familiar explanations and comments be offered upon every lesson; but let the teacher never fail to ascertain whether his pupils have performed the assigned exercise with fidelity.

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It seems to us, that there prevails in the public mind a mistaken notion as to the kind of men needed for the officers of instruction in a college. The common idea is, that he who has the most learning, or exhibits the highest order of genius in any branch of knowledge, must of course be the best professor in that department. This by no means follows as a matter of course. Those most swift to learn are not always the most apt to teach. Genius is often hasty and impatient. It is a comparatively easy thing to instruct youth of quick apprehension and industrious habits, to descant to eager listeners on the beauties of an ancient author, or to glide with rapid step through a series of mathematical reasoning, touching "*summa fastigia rerum*," and leaving intermediate processes, and references to first principles, to the ready wit of the apt and well trained scholar; and for such work a man of commanding talents and high attainments is always competent. But the college teacher has a far different task. He must not only himself occupy the serene heights of literature and science, but must know how to let down the golden chain to those below. He must have a mind at once comprehensive of great principles and minute in details. He must sustain and feed the enthusiasm of the ardent and persevering scholar; and at the same time, with the halting and inapt, he must take short steps where it would be easier to take long; he must often retrace the ground already gone over; he must bring himself down to the most patient analysis, the most homely illustration, the most wearisome reiteration of dimly seen or soon forgotten principles. He must both lead the van and bring up the rear, keeping diligent account of the whole flock, being conversant with the idiosyncrasies of every mind, and, with ready skill, adapting modes of teaching and incentives to diligence to the infinitely various capacities with which he has to deal.

The practice of selecting for professorships men of somewhat advanced age and established eminence in other walks of life is, we believe, of American growth; and so is the principle from which this practice takes its rise. "*Non omnia possumus omnes*" is deemed an axiom beyond dispute in every other portion of the civilized world; and from it flows, as a legitimate deduction, the good old rule of St. Paul, "Let every man abide in the same calling where-

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in he was called." In the European universities, professors are chosen young, and educate themselves for their work. They often spend their lives, from boyhood till a late old age, in the same university; and when they are chosen from without, success and eminence as teachers, no less than as scholars, are deemed requisite qualifications. But in this country, we regard a man who fills one place well as fit for any place; and the usefulness of very many men of high talents and attainments is undoubtedly greatly diminished by the absurd translation of them from spheres of duty, which they fill with eminent ability, to new positions and relations, demanding entirely different modes of study and forms of activity. Thus there is no such thing, in one's life, as "seeing the end from the beginning." A man who gains an enviable reputation as a physician is as likely, on the strength of that reputation, to be sent to Congress, as to be chosen to office in a medical society; while the accomplished statesman and diplomatist, for his character as such, may be deemed the most fitting candidate for a post of literary trust and honor. The extension of this principle to the government of a college may, indeed, reflect much temporary lustre on the institution, by associating with it a distinguished name, and may, in some instances, secure for the cause of education services of the highest value; but this latter result can never be foreseen and calculated, and, when it occurs, must constitute an exception to the almost universal rule. Therefore, though Harvard University has been, and is, happy in enjoying an unusual number of these exceptions, — though, in choosing her officers thus at haphazard, she has seemed to play with loaded dice, we are glad that she has of late set the example of educating her own professors within her own walls. We like the spirit of the old Harvard law, which entitled the tutor, who had acquitted himself well in office for a series of years, to a professor's chair. The tutors should be chosen from among those graduates who are deemed the most hopeful candidates for professorships. In this subordinate office, they should learn to teach and to govern, should themselves acquire and exemplify the spirit and the habits of true scholars, and should gain for themselves on college ground that consideration and regard, which the incumbent may command by his own merits, but which the mere office can never insure. And,

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except in rare cases, professors should be chosen only from among those whose skill in the instruction and discipline of youth has been thus tested and approved.

In connection with these somewhat desultory remarks on college discipline, we would say a few words on one topic of prime importance; namely, the bodily health of the students. We fear that at Cambridge the ambition of the more industrious is stimulated too highly, that they are permitted to undertake too many exercises, and that, in the closeness of the competition, college honors are sought even at the risk of life. The last few years have been marked by a series of dangerous maladies and deaths among the high scholars of their respective classes, under circumstances which suggest the apprehension, that larger demands were made upon the intellect than the bodily frame could sustain. We have been told by the victims themselves, that they had frequently passed the whole night without retiring to rest, and that the only alternative has been to do thus, or to leave some exercise of the following day unprepared. There are, indeed, but few in each class, who will incur such hazards for the sake of preëminence; but those few are the very ones whose life and health should be most carefully cherished, and who, if deficient in prudence, ought to be defended against themselves. By the present regulations, a student may choose for himself, and take rank in, as many different departments of study, as will occupy him in recitations and at lectures for twenty-one hours in the week. There being seldom more than one exercise on Saturday, there remain four for each of the other five secular days. A good scholar can hardly spend on an average less than two hours in preparation for each exercise; so that, in adopting the legal *maximum* of study, he must give, each week, twelve hours a day to his desk and the recitation-room, for five days in succession. This some well matured and vigorous frames can sustain; not, however, without serious peril. But the students are generally too young to bear what one of mature years might endure. Many of them have not yet attained full stature, and are at the very season of life, when the free enjoyment of air and exercise is essential to insure compactness, health, and vigor to the physical frame. Three lessons a day, with two hours study upon each, are as much as can be performed with safety; and, if more time than this be spent in

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literary pursuits, it might better be passed in some profitable course of reading, upon which the forecast shadow of the recitation-room did not rest.

Another arrangement, undoubtedly prejudicial to health, is that which crowds most of the lectures and recitations into the interval between breakfast and dinner. It is an arrangement of great convenience and comfort to the professors, who perform their services without solicitude, and whom the dinner-bell leaves to the free disposal of the residue of the day. But this plan bears a very different aspect, when considered with relation to the students. They sometimes pass four out of the five consecutive morning hours, sitting in a confined posture, and breathing the corrupt air of recitation-rooms; and when this is over, they go to their chambers with the burden of the next day's work upon their minds. Three or even four lessons must be studied before they sleep; and how studied by the ambitious scholar? His aim is not only to deposit them in his memory in a shape in which they may lie ready for future use, but to commit them with entire, minute precision, to have them connected in the memory with well chosen and graceful words, and to prepare himself to recite them with all possible facility and fluency, so as to constrain the instructer to give him the highest mark. Now, to study in this manner three or four lessons in as many successive layers, so carefully placed that they shall remain entirely separate one from another, is an anxious and wearisome task, and can hardly be sustained year after year, without making the eye dim, and the face pale and haggard, and the lungs easily accessible to disease. We earnestly hope for the restoration of the custom of former times, when the hours of study alternated with those of recitation, and the student had deposited one burden before he bowed to take up another. Then but one lesson, as the phrase ran, "was committed over night"; and of that the student was relieved before breakfast. The morning study-hours were closed by another recitation; and the third was fixed at as late an hour in the afternoon as the season would permit. In those days, though there were hard students, there were few broken constitutions; for the confinement of the recitation-room was too transient to inflict serious injury, and the hours of recitation were so arranged as to leave intervals, which invited the students, with

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unburdened minds, to bodily exercise and relaxation. In offering these hints, we are at once redeeming a promise to the dead, and discharging a duty to the living. We would confidently appeal for their justice to the medical members of the *Senatus Academicus;* and will acknowledge ourselves in the wrong, if they will deliberately acquit the present arrangement of all injurious consequences.

Judge White, in his Address, discusses in detail the question of the expediency of domiciliating students within the walls of the College. He advocates the affirmative, in opposition to an able argument for the negative in Dr. Wayland's "Thoughts on the Collegiate System." We cannot but believe the plan of domiciliation, universally adopted in our American colleges, to be indispensably necessary, when considered with reference to the youth of so large a proportion of the students, and their constant need of the judicious supervision of those superior in years. We quote the following remarks of Judge White upon the influence exerted, mentally and morally, one upon another, by fellow-students within the college walls.

"The objection grounded on the moral dangers to the young, arising from their being so intimately associated in a community by itself, guided by its own 'unwritten code,' and in large numbers, of whom not a few may have been already addicted to habits of vice, is of a graver character, and demands a more extended notice.

"These dangers are not peculiar to bodies of students, still less to students resident within college walls; common boarding-houses certainly would not exclude them. The true remedy is to be sought in counteracting influences; and such influences, we know, exist in great strength at this University, and might, doubtless, be rendered yet more predominant.

"Entering college with good moral characters, and full of youthful aspirations, a vast majority of every class are ardent for virtue as well as for learning, and helpers of each other's joy and progress. If, as suggested, 'older residents influence for evil those who have more recently entered,' other older residents there are, of greater power and attraction, to influence for good. What ingenuous youth of Harvard ever failed to find in other classes, as well as in his own, lights and guides to cheer him on his way, models of virtue and scholarship to elevate his motives and his ambition?

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"But the wicked, it is said, 'are much more zealous in making proselytes than the virtuous.' This we doubt. The moral energies of the people, so easily awakened in the cause of philanthropy, show the activity of virtue and benevolence; and none are more susceptible of sympathy in any such cause, than young men in the higher stages of their education; a sympathy, which, when properly directed and cherished, shields them from a thousand temptations.

"We are told, too, of 'the waste of time which must result from frivolous conversation, where the opportunities of conversation are so abundant.' But this, as we conceive, is not attributable to collegians more than to other young persons, nor to the young alone; older men, congregated in less numbers, have always been liable to the like charge, from the curious quidnuncs whom St. Paul encountered at Athens, to the last meeting on 'change.

"Nothing, indeed, is more natural, than for youth of studious minds and buoyant spirits *desipere in loco*, — in their hours of relaxation, to love the

> 'Sport that wrinkled care derides,
> And laughter holding both his sides.'

But, if abundant opportunities for conversation lead to excess of frivolous talk, they lead also to much intellectual converse equally rational and instructive. The memorable remark of Mr. Fox, that he had been more instructed by his friend Burke, than by all other men and books put together, strikingly illustrates the value of that mutual improvement which results from the companionship and familiar intercourse of intelligent minds. Young friends and fellow-students, frank and confiding, are open as the day to each other. Their mental acquirements become common property. Every individual, among many classmates, has many minds, instead of one only, at work for his improvement. A learned jurist, of the London University, observes, that 'young men, as far as their mutual information extends, are the best professors for each other.'

"Thus, in addition to all that the students obtain from college professors and teachers, they make continual advancement among themselves, both in knowledge and virtue, by mutual excitement, mutual instruction, and mutual influence; a fact which should make us less anxious to fill up with stated exercises the whole time of the more talented students in college. It has been remarked by a most competent judge, that a very great excellence of the English universities lies in the degree to which they call out voluntary energies and *con amore* study, — not oppressing the mind by enforcing too many studies at once, — the

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lecturers being few, and the tutors rather directing and assisting the study of books, than presenting themselves instead of books." —*Address*, pp. 26 – 28.

With regard to the moral conduct and character of her students, we believe that Harvard College need not shun comparison with any similar institution in the country. There are, probably, fewer young men of rigid, ascetic morality there than at some other colleges; but we doubt whether there is anywhere else a nearer approach of the great majority of the students to a respectable moral standard. The moral tone of the College on many important subjects is firm and high. Meanness is never tolerated there; and the grosser forms of dissipation meet with general abhorrence. Wine, or a villanous compound to which the venders give that name, is the student's greatest enemy; convivial intemperance his chief danger. A vigorous stand against the use of wine was made a few years ago by some of the more thoughtful among the undergraduates; but the temperance society which they formed, unless recently endowed with new life, has been suffered to languish and to become inefficient. When we remember at what shining marks within those halls the demon of intemperance has taken fatal aim, when we recall to mind the consciousness of perfect safety and self-control professed by those who there commenced their swift march to a drunkard's grave, we feel constrained to appeal with earnestness to all who occupy places of trust, counsel, instruction, or influence in connection with the College, to aid in establishing within its walls the principle and habit of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors. It is the youth's only safeguard. In the excitement of merry society, unrestrained by the presence of those of maturer years, he is easily made blind to the limits between moderate and excessive indulgence; and, those limits once passed, the shame of drunkenness once incurred, the precedent is established for all future similar occasions. But with these students, precept will be vain without example. The preacher of abstinence must himself abstain. No matter if he can command by special importation the pure blood of the grape, and from the very hills whence flowed inspiration for Anacreon's song, while the grocer's back-shop is the student's Samos and Madeira;

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the two will be drunk or thrown aside together. We trust that Harvard will not enjoy another year the unenviable distinction of being the only college in New England, that furnishes her *alumni* with intoxicating liquors at their Commencement and anniversary dinners. It is the earnest desire of very many of the best friends of the College, that there should on this point be a departure from ancient custom. They dare not hope, that wine-drinking will grow into discredit with the students, while the assembled learning, talents, and piety of New England make public exhibition of it on three consecutive days every year. We doubt whether any parties would feel aggrieved by the disuse of wine on these occasions. We have in former days tasted the wine of the Commencement dinner, and can record our unhesitating testimony, that it comes from the vintage which supplies the students; it bears the same brand *ad nauseam;* whatever fortunes it may have sustained on land, it is "*expers maris.*" No lover of wine ever thanked the Corporation for it; but many dear lovers of their *Alma Mater*, many anxious parents, many youth rescued from the contagion of bad example, will "rise up, and call them blessed," if they will put away this nuisance. On this subject we gladly fortify our own opinions and suggestions by the weighty and judicious remarks of Judge White.

"Who of us can look back upon his classmates, without a most melancholy recollection of brilliant talents, generous affections, and fond hopes, all blasted by the scorching rays of alcoholic excitement? There now rises before me the image of a once loved classmate, the only son of his mother, the darling child of his father, a venerated clergyman, whose heart swelled with grateful joy at his son's early promise of excellence, but whose gray hairs were brought down in sorrow to the grave. And no near relative remains on earth, to check the freedom of these allusions, or to forbid the tribute which my heart would pay to the memory of one, whose life was as full of instruction to others as of unhappiness to himself.

"When this son of bright promise appeared among us, his pleasantry and social qualities attracted notice and regard, while his courteous manners and superior gifts of elocution gave him consequence with his associates. But his judgment was immature, and failed him most sadly. He it was who broached the idea of a *high-go*, as being requisite to give us a rank among the classes in college; and he prevailed upon his classmates,

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generally, to assemble at his room, on a winter's evening, to manufacture the noble article, bringing with them the necessary tools, in the shape of black bottles well filled. The morning's dawn disclosed the glorious result, in broken windows, broken bottles, and — broken character!

"The charm of a spotless academic reputation was gone from the class. The hero of the scene — but not alone — persisted in his maddening course to its fatal close, in mid-age, followed by tears, not curses, — this being his one great fault, for which he paid so dear. Naturally of a noble and generous disposition, and inheriting a liberal patrimony, he made what atonement he could to his *Alma Mater*, and by his last will enrolled himself among her distinguished benefactors. Peace to his memory! Honored be his virtues, which were all his own. His errors and miseries, and the agonies of hearts most dear to him, might have been avoided, had but that benign power, now by the good providence of God made known to us and placed in our hands, been present to protect him in his youthful career. His is but one of a thousand heart-rending tales.

"Who, upon these classic grounds, with such facts before him, would not be tempted to exclaim, in the magnanimous apostolic spirit, If wine make my brother to offend, I will drink no wine while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend!" — *Address*, pp. 34, 35.

We close our remarks with one additional suggestion. We wish that there were some mode, in which the students of the University could be brought into more intimate social relations with their instructers. We are aware, that some of the ancient barriers between teacher and pupil are removed, nor are we ignorant of the kind and persevering efforts of the present head of the College to introduce the students into social intercourse with the members of the faculty and their families. Yet there still remains too much of mutual distance and reserve. The forth-putting and self-confident among the students may, indeed, cultivate the acquaintance of their teachers, and feel always sure of a kind reception; but ought not the retiring and timid to be sought out, and made to feel that there are those ready and glad to stand to them *in loco parentis?* In former times, the intercourse between the *particular tutor* (so called) and the class under his charge partook somewhat of the parental and filial relation. The student felt at liberty to resort to the tutor of his class for special counsel and direction, whenever needed; and the

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tutor often sought other occasions of meeting the individuals of his class than those of set exercises and formal college discipline. Might not an arrangement of this kind, carried out by a more minute subdivision of classes, meet a want, which many parents, that have sons in college, deeply feel, and of which the young men themselves have a vague and dreamy consciousness? According to this plan, there should be assigned to every member of the faculty his quota of students. With them it should be his duty to make himself acquainted, to study their characters, to watch over the formation of their habits, to give them advice on all subjects of importance, as to recreation, reading, and modes of study, and to act as their special moral guardian, in pointing out sources of danger and of evil, and in shewing to his pupils, both by precept and example, the "more excellent way." An arrangement like this would supersede in a great degree the severer, sterner portions of college discipline, would strike the axe at the root of reigning evils and abuses, and would go far towards establishing that sacred regard for moral obligation, without which mere literary attainments are empty and worthless.

We have thus passed in review the condition and wants of our University. We have done this in the spirit of sincere reverence and love. It has our warmest wishes, — it has had and shall still have our earnest, however feeble, efforts, for its enlargement and prosperity. We regard it as the chief hope of American scholarship. We forget not its early consecration, "*Christo et Ecclesiæ*"; and though, in the present distracted state of the New England church, we wish that there were no theological organization within its walls, we trust that its motto will be verified in all coming time, as it has been in days that are past, by the severe sanctity of manners and morals, and the unfeigned piety of heart, of those who guide its counsels and impart its instructions.

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ART. III.—*The Works of* LORD BYRON *in Verse and Prose, including his Letters, Journals, &c., with a Sketch of his Life.* New York: A. V. Blake. 8vo. 1843.

THE revolution in the character of imaginative literature, which has taken place in the present century, had its most violent and convulsionary manifestation in Lord Byron. In an article on Wordsworth in our last number, we referred to some of the external influences which stimulated the genius of the great poets of the age, and laid particular stress on spiritual philosophy and the French Revolution. These two agencies, of course, were modified by the individual peculiarities of the poets they influenced. Wordsworth, in whose temperament the thoughtful element predominated over the impulsive, impressed on them the qualities of his own nature; and their effect on him is seen in the preëminence given in his writings to spiritual things and to humanity, to the imagination and the affections. On Byron, whose mind was naturally more under the dominion of sensibility, and rendered almost chaotic by suffering and error, the radical influences flowing from the French Revolution operated with more power, and were controlled by less moral and humane feeling.

Indeed, if any person can be pointed out as the mouthpiece of the harsher revolutionary spirit of his time, it is assuredly Lord Byron. The extraordinary popularity of his poems, and the notoriety of his life, have led to various essays on his character and writings, differing in object and mode of treatment, and all more or less one-sided. Denunciation and panegyric have both been lavished upon his name. Those who represent him as a fiend, seizing with a sort of diabolical instinct on all that is bad and impious, and overthrowing with a kind of ferocious energy all that is good and holy, and those who represent him as little less than a saint, seem equally to err; and the error of both arises in a great degree from an attempt to delineate a character which shall be consistent with itself. Byron may almost be said to have had no character at all. Every attempt to bring his virtues or his vices within the boundaries of a theory, or to represent his conduct as guided by any

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predominant principle of good or evil, has been accompanied by blunders and perversions. His nature had no simplicity or unity. He seems an embodied antithesis, — a mass of contradictions, — a collection of opposite frailties and powers. Such was the versatility of his mind and morals, that it is hardly possible to discern the connection between the giddy goodness and the brilliant wickedness which he delighted to exhibit. His habit of mystification, of darkly hinting remorse for sins he never committed, of avowing virtues he never practised, increases the difficulty. From his actions, his private journals and correspondence, his poems, — from all those sources whence we derive a consistent idea of other writers, — it is hard to obtain a harmonious notion of him. It is quite easy to sustain any theory of his character, good, bad, or indifferent, by numerous extracts from his writings and undoubted events of his life. Friends or enemies need not droop for lack of materials to justify either blame or eulogy. Nothing can be more simple than to prove, that all in character and life which is ennobling and humane, and all that is debasing and inhuman, from writing hymns to parodying the ten commandments, found in him an able champion; and that crime and goodness both glittered with new attractions, when seen through the dazzling medium of his diction. From his life and works we obtain the impression, that he was a glutton, and an ascetic; a spendthrift, and a miser; a misanthrope, and a cosmopolite; an aristocrat, and a radical; an infidel, and a believer; a debauchee, and a mystic; a cynic, and a sentimentalist; a foul libeller of his species, and an eloquent defender of its rights, and a more eloquent mourner over its wrongs; bewailing and denouncing the literary revolution which made his own writings popular; pandering to a public which he despised; pilfering from authors whom he ridiculed; lashing his own bosom sins when committed by others; in short, a man continually busy in giving the lie to his thoughts, opinions, tastes, and conduct.

When we reflect upon this assemblage of clashing qualities, these odd irregularities of opinion and action, we are prone to consider him as what somebody calls Voltaire, "a miraculous child." He appears a mere collection of veering fancies and impulses, making the voyage of life aimless and rudderless, blown about by every breeze of desire, tossed

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about on every wave of passion. We can find in him no fixed principle of good or evil; no thorough-going worship of god or devil. Yet this comfortable conclusion seems only to lead us deeper into the dilemma. Though apparently without any settled aim, no public man of his time could display a stronger will, could adhere to a purpose with more fixed and sullen obstinacy, could act out or write out with more power whatever he deemed fit. No poet ever stamped upon his writings a deeper impress of personality, or viewed outward objects in a manner more peculiar to himself. Every thing about him is intensely subjective, individual, Byronic, — whether writing "Childe Harold" or "Don Juan," — whether sipping the waters of Hippocrene, or the stronger waters of Holland and the Rhine.

In his relations with the public we perceive the same consistent inconsistency. He does not appear to have formed any distinct notions of the dignity or the importance of the poet's vocation. It would be difficult for the most acute analyst to find in his writings what was his theory of human life. Some of his works were published merely, as he expresses it, to "make a row." Others were reflections of his moods, rather than his opinions. The volatile libertinism of Lucio, and the gloomy fierceness of Timon, he adopted at pleasure. Self is ever uppermost in his mind. The whole world is called upon to listen to a recital of the joys and agonies of George Gordon, Lord Byron. Amidst this most bewildering confusion of qualities and attributes, we are still conscious that one personality circles through and pervades them all. In his coquetry with the public, he seems at once a despot and a slave. He tells his thousands of readers, that they are formed of more vulgar clay than he is, that he despises them from his inmost heart, that their life is engaged in a bustling oscillation between knavery and folly, and that all mankind is but a "degraded mass of animated dust." Yet he demands their sympathy for all his idiosyncrasies, sins, and errors, and bends his stern pride to follow whatever path of popularity changing circumstances may point out. His mouth is ever at the public ear, though it pour forth nothing but expressions of contempt and hatred. In whatever attitude he places himself, he evidently intends it to be one which shall excite admiration or horror. He could

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bear hatred, calumny, the imputation of profligacy, the denunciation of the powerful, the censures of the good, — any thing which carried with it fuel for his sensibility; but he could not bear neglect or indifference. An expression of contempt for any one of his works excited his ire more than the most hyperbolical expression of horror. The cool cockney, who said that "Don Juan" was "all Billingsgate," was lifted immediately into importance by the remark.

This dependence on the world, even on the weakest portion of it, by one who professed, in his towering misanthropy, to be superior to its praise or blame, is in marked contrast with the self-reliance of Wordsworth and Shelley. It was one of Byron's maxims, that the censure of the meanest of mankind is more painful, than the applause of the highest is pleasing. This was a singular opinion to be held by one who strove hard to rank himself among those "gigantic minds,"

> "Whose steep aim
> Was, Titan-like, on daring doubts to pile
> Thoughts which should call down thunder and the flame
> Of Heaven."

The unsettled condition of Byron's mind and character may be traced, in a great degree, we think, to the errors and calamities of his life. His misfortunes, however, enabled him the better to reflect the revolutionary spirit of his time. Suffering was his inspiration, and he gave utterance to the thousand and one miseries of his day. The poet of restlessness and impulse, his verse found an echo in many a heart whose unhappiness was voiceless. There was a great amount of passionate radicalism in the community, to which his poetry afforded strength and nutriment. He laid bare the cant of English society, and the corruption of the aristocracy, and lashed them with a whip of scorpions. He illustrated and denounced the social tyranny, by which thousands are driven into crime and prevented from returning to virtue. The arrows of his scorn fell fast and thick among the defenders of political abuses. The renegade, the hypocrite, the bigot, were made to feel the full force of his merciless invective. Wielding an uncontrolled dominion over language, and profusely gifted with all the weapons of sarcasm, hatred, and contempt, he battled fiercely in the service of freedom, and knew well how to overwhelm its adversaries

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with denunciations and stormy threats, with ridicule and irony which should eat into their hearts, as rust into iron. He spoke with fiery energy and directness what was burning for expression in the hearts of thousands. The aggressive and destructive character of his political principles had a fierce charm for all whose passions had been wrought into intense or moody strength, by the contemplation of injustice and wrong. He gave voice not only to the political discontents of his time, but to the inward misery, the skeptical distrust of goodness and religion, the diseased sensibility, the half-formed opinions and mad impulses, which characterized the excitable spirits of his age. If he brought no balm to heal, he brought fire to stimulate. He was completely master of the whole rhetoric of despair and desperation. His wilfulness and caprice, the inconsistency not only between his writings and his conduct, but between one portion of his writings and another, far from injuring his influence, tended rather to add a new zest and interest to his compositions and actions. A man whose conduct is swayed by impulse instead of judgment, whose passions are dogmatic, while his intellect is skeptical, who has no distinct object in life to direct his energies, must necessarily exhibit the most glaring contradictions in his opinions and actions; and to these contradictions Lord Byron's sympathizing readers were as liable as himself.

It is a difficult task to determine how far the faults and errors of Byron are to be attributed to original disposition, to bad culture, or to circumstances over which he had no control. He seems to have been born with violent passions, but not specially gifted with intellectual power. The carelessness with which his education was conducted, and some early wounds of vanity and affection, strengthened this natural predominance of impulse over thought. We can see in his youth the same tendency to individualism, the same reference of all things to a personal standard, which characterized his manhood. Early in life, he was accustomed to brood over the mortifications of his vanity and pride, and to indulge in tempestuous outbreaks of passion when he was crossed in his caprices. He gradually came to consider the world as made for him, and unconsciously to subordinate the interests and happiness of others to his own. This selfishness and self-exaggeration were the bane of his life. He

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seems never to have taken an enlarged and comprehensive view of society and the world, with reference to his own position in either. When he had committed some act of more than common turpitude, and reaped its natural results in sorrow and bitterness, he experienced a kind of grim satisfaction in throwing the blame upon others. If he had not been deformed in his foot, or if Miss Chaworth had not loved another, or if Lady Byron had not loved herself, the thing would not have happened. This tone of complaint was unmanly and boyish. It was more a revelation of the sufferer's weakness than of the world's injustice. At one time, he seems to have seen through this thin self-deception, and acknowledged that

> "The thorns which I have reaped are of the tree
> I planted; they have torn me and I bleed;
> I should have known what fruit would spring from such a seed."

But, generally, he appears to have been deluded by his passionate selfishness into the belief that his crimes were his misfortunes. This appears exquisitely ridiculous in Mr. Richard Swiveller, and nothing but genius could ever have made it any thing else in Byron.

It was not until he felt the reaction of the selfishness and the opinions of others upon his own, that he revealed the energies of his nature. He certainly would never have been a great poet, had he been a contented man. The attempt to crush opposition, to compel others to acknowledge the claims of his selfishness, wrought his powers into intense action. His strength was the strength of madness and desperation. The first volume of his poems gives no evidence of the power afterwards displayed in "Cain" and "Manfred." They were probably admired by his friends, previous to their publication, and his vanity was satisfied. Then came the stinging and contemptuous *critique* in the Edinburgh Review. The rage which this provoked was the inspiration of the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." It is amusing to observe, in this publication, how he not only wreaks vengeance on his reviewer and on all connected with him, but runs a-muck through the streets, and stabs every author that comes in his way. His wounded pride demands a whole hecatomb of victims, the innocent as well as the guilty. It would seem as if the most superficial consideration must have taught him, that many of the feeble poets

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whom he lashed had only committed his own sin, that of publishing trifling verses, which had been unduly puffed by journals of little authority; and that the severity of his attack upon them was only a confirmation of the justice of the *critique* on himself. But the pith and nerve of his invective indicated that his mind in its "Hours of Idleness" was a very different thing from his mind in its hours of excitement. The success which his vigorous, but indiscriminate, satire met was balm to his irritated pride; but it pampered some qualities of his nature, which it would have been for his happiness to have stifled. It told him, that he possessed power to fight his way through the world, and to overbear any opposition to his conduct, no matter on what principles of right or wrong it was founded.

We think that this egotism or selfishness in Byron was the parent of many of his vices, inasmuch as it emancipated his mind from the burden of those duties which grow out of man's relations with society. Feeling conscious of strong impulses, and taking pleasure in asserting his independence of the world's code of opinion, he early plunged into vicious excesses. It is well known, that the time which elapsed between the publication of the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," and his first visit abroad, was not spent in practising the "Whole Duty of Man." The recklessness with which he indulged in libertinism was only equalled by the detestable coolness with which he referred to it. In a letter to Hodgson, in 1810, he makes the candid confession, that he has found "that nothing but virtue will do in this d——d world. I am tolerably sick of vice, which I have tried in all its agreeable varieties, and mean, on my return, to cut all my dissolute acquaintance, leave off wine and carnal company, and betake myself to politics and decorum." On his return to England, he changed this amiable determination, so far as decorum was concerned, though he paid some little attention to politics. The publication of the first and second cantos of "Childe Harold," the great and immediate fame which attended it, and his introduction to the "world of London," to run a new career of brilliant profligacy, constituted one of the eras of his life. Up to this time, his bad qualities do not appear to have become hardened, and, though licentious and careless of restraint, he could hardly be called extremely dissolute. The power of

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his genius, likewise, had not been fully developed by circumstances. His mind was also very unsettled, and might perhaps have received a much better direction than it took. In his letters and journals during the period which followed, we see him in a variety of aspects, — sorrowful, misanthropic, proud, vain, "every thing by turns, and nothing long." He seemed determined to drain the wine of life to the dregs, and to excel in all the pleasant methods of disposing of health, peace, and happiness, which a great metropolis affords. There is a singular blending of flippancy and desperation in his letters and journals at this period. The profanity, ribaldry, and brilliancy, with which they are garnished, the striking thoughts and fancies with which they teem, and the mode of life and condition of mind which they reveal, can hardly be paralleled in the private records of any other man of genius. His ambition was both high and mean, and seemed bent on those objects which would redound to his shame, as well as those which would crown him with glory. He mingled with the wise, the learned, the witty, the beautiful, the dissolute, with equal ease; and he appeared determined to be excelled by none either in literature or licentiousness. He aimed at being both a poet and a man of the world, — Plato and Lord Rochester in one. The impressibility of his mind led him to adopt the standard of each company into which he was thrown. He gradually lost all moral fear. Every thing sacred in life, religion, affection, sentiment, duty, virtue, he could as easily consider matter for mirth as for serious meditation. His love of epigram overcame his moral sentiments and his poetic feeling. His wit was great, for the very reason that it had no restraint from his conscience, and invaded sanctuaries into which the wit of others hesitated to enter. Since the publication of his letters, we discover that his wife, his most intimate friends, even his own cherished feelings, were not safe from its shafts. His whole correspondence is characterized by a brilliant recklessness, in which profanity and coarseness are prominent elements. His letters are richly studded with those emphatic expletives with which wagoners favor their horses.

But it was not until Byron left England for the second time, and for ever, that the condition of mind which his irregularities produced was fully displayed to the world.

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He went burning with indignation at real or imagined wrongs, and smarting with the consequences of his errors. From this period, his hatred and contempt of the world deepened in intensity and power, and lent a corresponding strength to his faculties. His residence on the continent filled the measure of his glory and his shame. The splendor, fertility, and daring of his mind, and the hoarded scorn and fiery passion of his heart, were allowed to have full and free expression. His genius "fed on poisons," and they became nutriment to it. There was the same inconsistency in his conduct and writings as before, but his capacity for good and evil had both increased. In almost every thing that he wrote, while on the continent, we perceive the mark of great talent. His letters from Italy, alone, — things thrown off in every variety of mood, and some of them bearing strong evidence of the bottle, — display more genius than can be found in all the first two cantos of "Childe Harold." His mind, restrained by no permanent feelings of delicacy, of decorum, of moral or religious duty, and stirred into action by such powerful stimulants as revenge and scorn, developed capacities of which his previous writings had given little evidence. The most sublime and beautiful, as well as the most debasing, portions of his writings, belong to this period of his life. "The Corsair" seems tame, when compared with "Cain"; and the misanthropy of "Lara" apppears weak beside the misanthropy of "Manfred." The vivid imagination, which glows and glitters in the flood of passionate feeling that overwhelms the reader in the fourth canto of "Childe Harold," had absolutely no existence in the "Hours of Idleness." And nothing that he had written could boast the variety of description, the wit, the satire, the knowledge of the world, the grace and affluence of fancy, the sovereign command of expression, which surprise and delight us amid the filth and mockery of "Don Juan."

Over all these works, amid their most brilliant shows of wit and imagination, are thrown the sable hues of misanthropy and despair. They are all held in the bondage of one frowning and bitter feeling. They all bear the impress of one versatile, but not comprehensive, mind. They are all fruits of one individual's peculiar experience of life. They all display the gulf of darkness and despair, into which great genius is hur-

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ried, when it is delivered over to bad passions. The lesson they teach is degrading. It casts doubt and insecurity on the noblest objects of life. It is the philosophy of madness and misery, teaching that all happiness is shadowy, all aspiration futile.

> "We wither from our youth, we gasp away —
> Sick — sick; unfound the boon — unslaked the thirst,
> Though to the last, in verge of our decay,
> Some phantom lures, such as we sought at first —
> But all too late, — so are we doubly cursed.
> Love, fame, ambition, avarice — 't is the same,
> Each idle — and all ill — and none the worst,
> For all are meteors with a different name,
> And Death the sable smoke where vanishes the flame."

Such consolatory philosophy as this would not seem to carry with it any charm, derived either from its truth or its attractiveness. Though it speaks for the human race, it is still but the diseased experience of one heart, having no general truth either in the nature of man or the nature of things. It is no more philosophical than it would be for a thief, on his way to the gallows, to conclude that men were born to be hanged, — or for a bad poet, on his way to oblivion, to conclude that books were written to be damned. Misanthropy is a malady of the mind; all men are not misanthropical, any more than all men are diseased. In itself, this condition of the soul has few attractions, except for those who can sympathize with it, or whose own experience echoes its teachings. But in Byron it is often accompanied by qualities which either soften its harshness, or give it altogether the lie. It is most seductive, when blended with things whose reality it denies. The gloom of his meditations is laced with light in all directions. Touches of pathos, tributes of affection, gushes of passionate feeling, gleams of beauty, kindling utterances for freedom and humanity, — these continually appear in company with a cynicism which sneers at the objects to which they appeal, or despair which doubts their existence.

We now propose to hazard a few observations on the nature of Byron's perversions of his genius, followed by an examination of the spirit which animates "Manfred" and "Cain," and concluding with some acknowledgment of the force of his delineations, and the exquisite delicacy of some of his perceptions of beauty and goodness. It is hard-

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ly possible to do this without a seeming inconsistency; for a distinction is to be made, not only between his life and his writings, but between one portion of his writings and another. We must admit, that, however Satanic some of his compositions may be, and however depraved the tone of much of his meditation, he never lost a keen perception of the pure and the beautiful; and that, in action, he was neither so bad nor so good as he was in thought.

Byron's misanthropy, real or affected, sometimes induced him to give prominence to qualities essentially unpoetical. The frequent perversion of his powers, and the unhealthy moral atmosphere which surrounds some of his most splendid creations, have given point to a sarcastic epigram, which declares that his ethical system is compounded of misanthropy and licentiousness, the first command of which is, "Hate your neighbour, and love your neighbour's wife." Coarse appetites, selfish passions, flippant impieties, a sullen hatred of mankind — things generally deemed base and degrading in themselves, — he could so represent, by cunning tricks of diction, as to confer upon them a factitious beauty and dignity. "Paint not the sepulchre of thyself, and strive not to beautify thy corruption," was a remark of an old English writer, and Byron might have practised on it to advantage. If we analyze some of the beautiful passages in "Manfred" and "Childe Harold," we shall find, that the beauty is rather in appearance than in substance, in the outward show and dress of the sentiment rather than in its spirit, in words more than in ideas. Translated into plain prose, they would seem either horrible or laughable. In this, one of Byron's many characteristics, he reverses a peculiarity of Wordsworth. The latter evolves the latent beauty residing in objects which appear mean and unpoetical to the eye; Byron casts the drapery of the beautiful over things intrinsically mean and bad, and renders them poetical to the eye. Wordsworth would experience the same satisfaction in delineating a peasant or a pedler, which Byron would find in drawing a philosophical debauchee or a sentimental pirate. The former, placing a confiding trust in the essential dignity and elevation of his theme, is contented with simplicity of diction; the latter, feeling the unworthiness of his subject, dazzles and blinds the eye with a blaze of words. If Wordsworth is inclined to make poverty and peasants too elevated, Byron is

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disposed to make piracy and robbers too respectable. Both superadd imaginary attributes upon the realities which the names of their characters suggest; but one aims to shed beauty over humble virtue, the other labors to make vice splendid.

If Byron, in his bitter and reckless moods, took pleasure in idealizing the bad, he received no less in degrading the ideal. To his haughty and self-aggrandizing will, it seemed, that the force of his genius could alter the relations and distinctions of things, and make both the moral and natural world dependent on the caprices of his sensibility. His readers were to be his vassals, and reflect the changes of his own feelings. He loved power for its own sake, and took delight in its mere exercise. An impulse or a whim he would obey, as other men obey a law or a principle. And then he seems, at times, a mere actor, with the world for his audience, striving to produce brilliant effects, and by no means careless of the applause of the pit. "Don Juan," it is probable, best reflects his mind and character in their general aspects. It resembles his private letters and journals more than any of his other works. It is full both of intensity and recklessness. Pictures of beauty are painted with hues "that are words, and speak to ye of heaven," only to be rudely daubed with an impatient dash of the same pencil that wrought their exceeding loveliness; majestic edifices are erected, only to be overthrown; statues, full of life and earnest feeling, are created, only to be dashed petulantly to pieces.

Indeed, Byron experienced great delight in producing those "brisk shocks of surprise," which come from the yoking together of the mean and the exalted, the coarse and the tender. Some of these do little credit to his heart, and, in fact, cast "ominous conjecture" on the truthfulness of his feelings. Thus, in the description of Haidee leaning over the sleeping Juan, one of the most beautiful pictures in poetry is sacrificed to the scoffing demon of his wit:

> "Like to an angel, o'er the dying
> Who die in righteousness, she leaned; and there
> All tranquilly the shipwrecked boy was lying,
> As o'er him lay the calm and stirless air.
> But Zoë the mean time some eggs was frying;
> Since, after all, no doubt the youthful pair
> Must breakfast, and betimes — lest they should ask it,
> She drew out her provision from the basket."

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Again, a most warm and fanciful description of a rainbow closes in imagery drawn from pugilism :

" A heavenly chameleon,
The airy child of vapor and the sun,
Brought forth in purple, cradled in vermilion,
Baptized in molten gold, and swathed in dun,
Glittering like crescents o'er a Turk's pavilion,
And blending every color into one, —
Just like a black eye in a recent scuffle
(For sometimes we must box without the muffle)."

A fine poetic consecration of one of the holiest feelings of the human heart, in " Childe Harold," ends with a touch of misanthropy, conceived in the very ingenuity of despair :

" When the wife,
Blest into mother, in the innocent look,
Or even the piping cry of lips that brook
No pain and small suspense, a joy perceives
Man knows not, — *when from out its cradled nook*
She sees her little bud put forth its leaves,
What may the fruit be yet? — I know not — Cain was Eve's."

A great deal of this perversion of imagination and levity of feeling, in Byron, we are willing to attribute to waywardness or affectation. But there are passages in his works, which are not merely licentious in tendency, but openly obscene. The higher literature of the present century is, in general, untainted with that impurity of thought and grossness of expression, which have too often characterized other brilliant periods of English letters. Lord Byron has the questionable honor of being an exception to this remark. Some portions of his works, for ribaldry and impiety, fairly bear off the palm from all other dabblers in dirt and blasphemy. At one period of his life, towards its close, he seems to have felt no responsibility to the world or to his own fame in the exercise of his talents. Much of this recklessness is, doubtless, to be laid to the intense bitterness of many of his miseries. In these moods, however, though his wit is often keen and his fancy affluent, he rarely raises a hearty laugh. The unhappiness which prompts the malignant jest is seen and felt, amid all the vivacity and glare of the expression. A person unacquainted with the character of Byron would infer from these bold and bad portions of his poems and letters, that his soul was the seat of obdurate malice. They seem to illustrate what Dr. Johnson calls " the frigid villany of studious lewdness, the calm malignity

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of labored impiety." They are singularly hard, cold, almost inhuman, in their tone of wickedness. They have none of that soft and graceful voluptuousness, with which poets usually gild and humanize sensuality, and of which Byron himself was, when he pleased, so consummate a master. To denounce them in the usual language applied to immoral works would not do justice to the depth of their turpitude. They enable us to understand what the old scholastic meant, when he called poetry "the devil's wine." They carry us back to the brilliant depravities of Congreve and Wycherly, when virtue was a jest, and piety the mark of a despised Puritan; but they are permeated with a power, to which those rakes of the drama could present no claim. To judge of Byron, however, by these alone, or to build up a theory of his character with these as a basis, would be to do him injustice. In themselves, they are worthy only of unalloyed detestation; but they merely illustrate one of the numerous phases of the author's nature. They are the foul offspring of those moments when he hated himself, the world, and heaven; when all the bitterness of irreligion and misanthropy, and all the noisome vapors arising from the dregs of bad passions, were blended in a frightful union with art and imagination; the reaction from those moods, when, to use his own words,

> "His mind became,
> In its own eddy, boiling and o'erwrought,
> A whirling gulf of fantasy and flame."

We do not wish to dwell on these foul blots on Byron's fame, or to penetrate into those recesses of his heart where they had birth. Misanthropy, when displayed in wit, satire, and mockery, is a more pitiable object than misanthropy in the darkest hues of despair. It is in "Cain," "Manfred," and the fourth canto of "Childe Harold," — especially in the two former, — that we are to look for the prominent features of Byron's peculiar view of life, and the nature of his influence upon his age. This leads us to the consideration of what Southey stigmatized as the "Satanic school of poetry," or the poetry of sin. In the works to which we have referred, Byron gives us the heroism of wickedness and misery, — guilt, conscious of itself, and wrung with remorse, yet proud of its power of endurance, and daring and defying heaven and hell, in the full view of the consequences of its acts. It is remorse without repentance, —

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misery that seeks neither hope nor alleviation. All weak emotions are discarded from its dark catalogue of crime and suffering. It deifies self-will, and is impatient of imperfection, not of good, but of evil. The bonds of clay, that check the energies of the mind, it feels as a limitation and a curse. It plucks its illustrations from those aspects of nature, where life flourishes in desolation, and is triumphant over all obstacles to its growth and strength:

> "From their nature will the tannen grow
> Loftiest on loftiest and least sheltered rocks,
> *Rooted in barrenness*, where naught below
> Of soil supports them 'gainst the Alpine shocks
> Of eddying storms; yet springs the trunk, and mocks
> The howling tempest, till its height and frame
> Are worthy of the mountains from whose blocks
> Of *bleak*, *gray granite* into life it came,
> And grew a giant tree; — the mind may grow the same."

The answer of this misanthropy to all entreaties for repentance is, in the moody phrase of Manfred, — "It is too late." It can exist without happiness. Cain asks Lucifer, in reference to the rebel angels, —

> "Are ye happy?
> *Lucifer.* *We are mighty.*
> *Cain.* Are ye happy?
> *Lucifer.* No! Art thou?"

But if happiness be not needed, neither is there a sting to death, though the soul be laden with unrepented sins. The last words that Manfred utters, as he turns his glazing eyes to the man of God by his side, are the most awful in the drama:

> "Old man! 't is not so difficult to die."

That is, hell can be borne!

Suffering, in natures thus lifted from the mass, and strong in the heroism of despair, needs no aid from piety and human feeling, but can be endured unshrinkingly by the mind, — "itself an equal to all woes."

> "Existence may be borne, and the deep root
> Of life and sufferance make its firm abode
> In bare and desolated bosoms: mute
> The camel labors with the heaviest load,
> And the wolf dies in silence."

Prometheus, whose "impenetrable spirit earth and heaven could not convulse," is the ideal of this patient endurance of

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torture; for Byron was not ever the champion of noisy miseries and talkative despair, but could feel the power of

> "Silent suffering, and intense;
> The rock, the vulture, and the chain,
> All that the proud can feel of pain,
> The agony they do not show,
> The suffocating sense of woe,
> Which speaks but in its loneliness,
> *And then is jealous, lest the sky*
> *Should have a listener, nor will sigh*
> *Until its voice is echoless.*"

Hope and joy, to this stern misanthropy, are bubbles that break in every breath of experience. No one can escape the inevitable doom. The only relief is to be sought in a sullen endurance of misery, which takes a grim delight in the consciousness of the capacity to suffer; or in a strength of will, which would scale the "cherubim-defended battlements" of heaven, and quail not before the "fire-armed angels," in its rhapsodies of meditation. Those who, when once deceived by hope, weave again the same web of delusion, only fall deeper into the pit of wretchedness or meanness:

> "Some, bowed and bent,
> Wax gray and ghastly, withering ere their time,
> And perish with the reed on which they leant;
> Some seek devotion, toil, war, good, or crime,
> According as their souls were formed to sink or climb."

Life, at the best, is an evil. Pain and suffering track the happiest. Only in the stern defiance or endurance of evil can the soul find any stability.

> "Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
> Count o'er thy days from anguish free,
> And know, whatever thou hast been,
> 'T is something better not to be."

It is almost needless to say, that Byron never reached the point of indifference to misery and hatred of the world, which he loved to contemplate. This was his ideal of greatness, and he never realized it. It had a charm for his swift passions and his daring fancy; but he was too weak and veering to practise it consistently in life. He was no hero, either in the service of Satan or the service of heaven. But he had a large inward experience of that condition of the heart, from which the devilish in conduct flows; and he has represented it with marvellous force and skill. In "Man-

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fred," especially, he has arrayed the Satanic aspect of life in a gloomy majesty, which makes it act powerfully on the imagination. A kind of shuddering sympathy is awakened for the hero. The stormy emotions which convulse his being; the demoniacal pride with which his agonies are borne; the intensity and might of passion, which breathe and burn in almost every word he utters; the picturesque sublimity of the scenes in which the action of the piece passes; the occasional touches of quiet beauty and holy sentiment, which shoot across the ravings of remorse, or twinkle in the sombre imagery of despair; and the continuity of the feeling which overspreads and pervades the whole drama; — all these give to the work a singular fascination, from which it is difficult to escape. Manfred represents a man of superhuman pride and superhuman ambition, — bound by no moral laws, which yet have the power to scourge him, — hating the world and his kind, and seemingly fated to be a curse to himself, and to all who meet him either in love or hate. In his confession to the Witch of the Alps, we have a most distinct statement of that disgust for mankind, that yearning after superhuman knowledge, that wild search in the loneliest and most tempestuous aspects of nature for sympathy with inward emotions, with which the writings of Byron teem. He says,

> "From my youth upward,
> My spirit walked not with the souls of men,
> Nor looked upon the earth with human eyes;
> The thirst of their ambition was not mine;
> The aim of their existence was not mine;
> My joys, my griefs, my passions, and my powers,
> Made me a stranger; though I wore the form,
> I had no sympathy with breathing flesh."

In another connection, he represents himself as having had in his youth noble aspirations to sway the minds of men, and to be the enlightener of nations; but his thoughts "mistook themselves":

> "I could not tame my nature down; for he
> Must serve who fain would sway, — and sooth — and sue—
> And watch all time — and pry into all place —
> And be a living lie — who would become
> A mighty thing among the mean; and such
> The mass are. I disdained to mingle with
> A herd, though to be leader — and of wolves.
> The lion is alone, and so am I."

The crime which lends such mysterious horror to the re-

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morse and despair of Manfred is one which the pen hesitates to write. It is but obscurely hinted in his wild utterances. But its remembrance is to him continual torment :

"Look on me in my sleep,
Or watch my watchings. Come and sit by me!
My solitude is solitude no more,
But peopled with the Furies. I have gnashed
My teeth in darkness till returning morn,
Then cursed myself till sunset; — I have prayed
For madness as a blessing — 't is denied me."

In the description of her whom he loved, and whom he destroyed, whose heart withered when it gazed on his, — a passion terrible in its consequences both to him and to her, — some traits of his own character and the Satanic character are thrown in by contrast :

" She was like me in lineaments — her eyes
Her hair, her features, all, to the very tone
Even of her voice, they said were like to mine;
But softened all, and tempered into beauty:
She had the same lone thoughts and wanderings,
The quest of hidden knowledge, and a mind
To comprehend the universe; nor these
Alone, but with them gentler powers than mine,
Pity, and smiles, and tears — *which I had not;*
And tenderness — but that I had for her;
Humility — *and that I never had.*
Her faults were mine — her virtues were her own."

We cannot refrain from making one more extract from this drama, in illustration of the inspiration of evil from which it takes its character, and the theory of sorrow and misery, as well as grandeur, which it inculcates.

" There is an order
Of mortals on the earth, who do become
Old in their youth, and die ere middle age,
Without the violence of warlike death.
Some perishing of pleasure — some of study —
Some worn with toil — some of mere weariness —
Some of disease — and some of insanity —
And some of withered or of broken hearts;
For this last is a malady which slays
More than are numbered in the lists of Fate, —
Taking all shapes and bearing many names."

There is something noble in the roll of these lines, which dignifies the pride and bitterness of soul from which they proceed.

The tremendous depth and intensity of passion, which Byron was capable of representing with such marvellous

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skill of expression, is powerfully displayed in his misanthropical creations, and lends to them much of the sorcery they exercise on the feelings. When once we are fairly borne along the foaming and glittering tide of his impulsive genius, it becomes hard to muster any moral scruples as to the direction of the flood. Few poets excel him in the instantaneous sympathy he creates, even among minds having no natural affinity with his own. He is eminently the poet of passion. In almost all the changes of his mood, the same energy of feeling glows in his verse. The thought or emotion uppermost in his mind at any one time, whether it be bad or good, seems to sway, for the moment, all the faculties of his nature. He has a passionate love for evil, a passionate love for nature, for goodness, for beauty, and, we may add, a passionate love for himself. When he sits in the place of the scoffer, his words betray the same inspiration from impulse, — the same passion, though condensed into bitterness and mockery. If we carefully observe the thoughtful and tender portions of his writings, we shall often find that the tenderness is but

> "Moonlight on a troubled sea,
> Brightening the storm it cannot calm."

Restlessness is the characteristic of his nature. He himself speaks of his verse as bearing him onward as the wind bears the cloud; and his hatred of restraint and "proud precipitance of soul" are well expressed in his exulting gladness at being again on the boisterous element he loved:

> "Once more upon the waters! — yet, once more!
> And the waves bound beneath me as a steed
> That knows its rider. Welcome to their roar!
> Swift be their guidance, wheresoe'er it lead!
> Though the strained mast should quiver as a reed,
> And the strained canvass fluttering strew the gale,
> Yet must I on; for I am as a weed
> Hung from the rock, on ocean's foam, to sail
> Where'er the surge may sweep, the tempest's breath prevail."

The force of passion with which he could express his sense of individual wrong, and his power of carrying the heart with him in his sorrowful consecrations of his own miseries, are displayed with a wild and smiting energy of utterance in the following stanzas:

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"And if my voice break forth, 't is not that now
I shrink from what is suffered: let him speak
Who hath beheld decline upon my brow,
Or seen my mind's convulsion leave it weak;
But in this page a record will I seek.
Not in the air shall these my words disperse,
Though I be ashes; a far hour shall wreak
The deep prophetic fulness of this verse,
And pile on human heads the mountain of my curse!

"That curse shall be Forgiveness. Have I not —
Hear me, my mother Earth! behold it Heaven! —
Have I not had to wrestle with my lot?
Have I not suffered things to be forgiven?
Have I not had my brain seared, my heart riven,
Hopes sapped, name blighted, Life's life lied away?
And only not to desperation driven,
Because not altogether of such clay
As rots into the souls of those whom I survey?

"From mighty wrongs to petty perfidy,
Have I not seen what human things could do?
From the loud roar of foaming calumny
To the small whisper of the as paltry few,
And subtler venom of the reptile crew,
The Janus glance of whose significant eye,
Learning to lie with silence, would *seem* true,
And without utterance, save the shrug or sigh,
Deal round to happy fools its speechless obloquy.

"But I have lived, and have not lived in vain:
My mind may lose its force, my blood its fire,
And my frame perish even in conquering pain;
But there is that within me which shall tire
Torture and Time, and breathe when I expire;
Something unearthly, which they deem not of,
Like the remembered tone of a mute lyre,
Shall on their softened spirits sink, and move
In hearts all rocky now the late remorse of love."

This passionateness of Byron's nature is, as we have already observed, manifested in all his writings. But it is sometimes softened into delicacy and tenderness, and becomes remarkably pure and sweet in its flow. The passages of thoughtful beauty, which are scattered over his stormy and impulsive poems, — following, as they so often do, fierce bursts of passion, and the bad idolatry of hatred and despair, — are as pleasing to the eye as starlight after lightning. It is hardly necessary to enlarge on the fineness of his feeling for the beautiful, and the fertility of his imagination in images shaping it to the eye, and in tones suggesting it to the ear.

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A large number of his imaginations have become the language of the emotions they consecrate, and many are fast passing into the common speech of Englishmen. In the third and fourth cantos of "Childe Harold," in "Don Juan," in the narratives and meditations which he has cast in a dramatic form, passages might be selected of most witching loveliness, of deep pathos, of sad and mournful beauty of sentiment, of aspiration after truth and goodness, — of pity, and charity, and faith, and humanity, and love. These display "how hard it is for a noble spirit to divorce itself wholly from what is good." From among many illustrations of this softness and beauty of feeling, we select the following sonnet:

"Thy cheek is pale with thought, but not from woe;
And yet so lovely, that, if Mirth could flush
Its rose of whiteness with the brightest blush,
My heart would wish away that ruder glow:
And dazzle not thy deep-blue eyes — but, O,
While gazing on them, sterner eyes will gush,
And into mine my mother's weakness rush,
Soft as the last drops round heaven's airy bow.
For, through thy long dark lashes low depending,
The soul of melancholy Gentleness
Gleams like a seraph from the sky descending,
Above all pain, yet pitying all distress;
At once such majesty with sweetness blending,
I worship more, but cannot love thee less."

It is very difficult to connect the scattered characteristics of Byron's genius, so as to give a distinct notion of his personal character. Most certainly he was not a great man in action. He had no calm, self-sustaining energy of nature, few consistent opinions, little breadth of understanding. Irresolution, weakness, a reckless indifference to the consequences of his actions, a kind of settled feeling that he must yield to every impulse of his sensibility, a remarkable absence of any thing like a reference of his conduct to moral laws, — these absolutely stare us in the face, as we read his letters and journals. As regards reason, his whole strength lay in his insight; and his momentary glimpses of truth were sometimes peculiarly vivid and clear. In his speculations, or rather declarations, on subjects disconnected with poetry, we often discern many bright hints of truth; but he had not sufficient patience or comprehensiveness to follow them to their results, or to bind them together in logical order. As re-

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gards strength of character, his force consisted in passion, not in principle. No vicious man ever lashed vice in others with more power. Not an inconsiderable portion of his writings, both in prose and verse, represents him as the critic of his contemporaries, and the censor and satirist of his age. When we read some of his fierce attacks on George the Fourth,

> "The fourth of the fools and cowards, called George,"

and the bitterness of invective with which he treated the sins of other prominent culprits, we are ready to exclaim, with Sir Thomas Browne, "While thou so hotly disclaimest against the Devil, be not guilty of diabolism." Again, no man volunteered his opinions with more freedom on literature, theology, politics, and society; but it is difficult to make any discrimination between his opinions and his antipathies, or to discover any law of change which regulated the passage of his antipathies into his loves. His taste was capricious in the extreme. His opinion of any person, or any institution, or any aspiration, varied with the physical variations of his body, and was often very different after a debauch from what it was after a ride. No one could infer his judgment of to-morrow from his judgment of to-day. The friend that appeared in the eulogy of one week was likely to point the squib of the next. His consistency in criticism was according to his constancy in hatred. Wordsworth and Southey he always disliked and always abused. As a critic, he has propounded some of the most untenable opinions ever uttered by a man of genius. He often mistook his whims and antipathies for laws of taste. When Keats's poems appeared, he entreats Murray to get some one to crush the little mannikin to pieces. After the article in the Quarterly was published, and the death of Keats was supposed to have been accelerated by its brutality, he abuses Murray for killing him, and discovers that there was much merit in the "mannikin's" poetry. It would be easy to multiply examples of this instability and levity of character; but for any reader of his letters and journals, such instances would be needless.

The personal and poetical popularity of Byron is still great. The circulation of his works, even at the present time, exceeds that of Wordsworth, Shelley, Southey, and

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Coleridge united. Scott is the only poet, among his contemporaries, who at all rivals him in the number of readers. Many of his gloomy creations will long frown defiance upon time. It is certainly a calamity to the world, that a poet possessing such wide influence over the heart should too often have exercised it in cultivating and honoring its base and moody passions; should have robed sin in beauty, and conferred dignity on vice; should have given new allurements to that Dead-sea fruit,

> "Which tempts the eye,
> But turns to ashes on the lip";

should have shown such brilliant audacity in assaults on the dearest interests of society; and, by the force of his example and the splendor of his mind, should be able to perpetuate his errors and his vices through many generations to come. It is of importance, not only to morals, but to taste, that there should be no delusion as to the nature of these perversions of his genius; that his wit should not shield his ribaldry from condemnation, nor his imagination be received in extenuation of his blasphemy. In speaking of Byron, as in speaking of men of meaner minds, things should be called by their right names. The method too apt to be pursued towards him is to gloss over his faults with some smooth sentimentalities about his temptations; or to speak of them with a singular relaxation of the rigidity of moral laws. But it seems to us impossible to defend his character, even as we defend the character of many men of genius whose lives labor under some bad imputations. As soon as sophistry has dexterously disposed of one charge, a thousand others crowd up to be answered. He has written his own condemnation. The faults of his life blaze out in his verse, and glitter on almost every page of his correspondence. And the most that charity itself can do is to repeat the mournful regret of the good abbot over the sins of Manfred:

> "This should have been a noble creature: he
> Hath all the energy which would have made
> A goodly frame of glorious elements,
> Had they been wisely mingled; as it is,
> It is an awful chaos — light and darkness —
> And mind and dust — and passions and pure thoughts,
> Mixed, and contending without end or order,
> All dormant or destructive."

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ART. IV. — *Proclamations of His Excellency Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Baronet, K. C. B., for dissolving the Provincial Parliament of Canada, and for the Election of a House of Assembly for that Colony.* Canada Gazette Extraordinary, Sept. 23, 1844.

ALTHOUGH we seldom turn our attention to the affairs of our Colonial neighbours, we still regard an occasional allusion to them as within the line of our duty. The United States, being the ruling power in this hemisphere, cannot but feel a deep interest in the political condition of all who inhabit the same continent, especially of those who are still in allegiance to the crown to which we once acknowledged fealty. Beside the tie of common British origin, there exists between many of the people of the Colonies north and east of us, and many of our own citizens, the bond of kindred blood. The causes of this affinity were briefly noticed at the close of an article on the Loyalists of our Revolution, in our last number. In considering now the political discontents of the inhabitants of British America, we shall have some occasion to refer to this class of our countrymen again; since they and their descendants are intimately concerned in these discontents, and in the public affairs of the British possessions in America, generally. Leaving them, however, and the French and English races who people these possessions, for the present, we propose first to consider somewhat in detail the disputes to which they and their rulers in the Old World are parties, and which have long disturbed the relations between England and her Colonies. Our remarks will be confined to Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; and as these disputes commenced in the Colony first named, and still are far the most serious there in character, they claim our first notice.

It may be said at the outset, that Great Britain has hardly had a moment's quiet with this possession since the day when Wolfe rose from a sick-bed to "die happy" in planting her flag on the walls of Quebec. To ascertain the reasons for the existing state of things, therefore, it may be necessary to trace the course of events ever since the treaty of Paris, in 1763, by which England annexed this province to her American dominions. After the conquest, and before the

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cession, there arose an exciting controversy among some of the leading statesmen of the time, whether it should be retained or restored to France, and the island of Guadaloupe be added to the British dominions in its stead. There seems to have been a prevalent fear, that, if Canada were kept, the Colonies, rid of all apprehensions from the French, would increase at an alarming rate, and finally throw off their dependence on the mother country. A tract was published in support of this view, supposed to have been written either by Edmund or William Burke, to which Dr. Franklin replied in his happiest and ablest manner.* Nor did the dispute end here; for the charge was openly made, that the treaty of peace which restored to France Bellisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, and Havana, which guarantied to her people the use of the Newfoundland fisheries, and which retained an acquisition of so doubtful value as Canada, was the result of corrupt bargaining; and Junius, in his celebrated letter to the Duke of Bedford, who negotiated the treaty, openly accuses him of having received bribes.

The Colony was now placed under a military government, though the king, by proclamation, announced his intention of granting, as soon as circumstances would permit, a legislative assembly. That this promise was not redeemed for twenty-eight years was at once an error of policy, and a breach of the royal faith. For four years, officers of the army were both governors and judges; and for a considerable period afterwards, orders in council were the only checks on their will, and the only protection thrown around the Canadian's rights. In 1774, it was deemed expedient by the ministry to pay some attention to the abuses that had grown up, and to introduce into parliament a bill designed ostensibly to correct them. This bill provided for the restoration of the *Customs of Paris* in regard to the transmission of property, for the introduction of the English criminal law and the trial by jury, and it lodged the legislative and executive power in a governor and council; but as it contained no provision for an assembly, it gave great dissatisfaction to the British emigrants who had settled in Can-

* Mr. Sparks says, that this reply "was believed to have had great weight in the ministerial councils, and to have been mainly instrumental in causing Canada to be held at the peace."

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ada in the hope of enjoying the same privileges as the subjects of the mother country.

As the passage of this bill is one of the twenty-six grievances enumerated by our fathers in the Declaration of Independence, it may be worth further notice. In the Lords, the measure seems to have encountered no very formidable opposition; but in the Commons, it produced a most angry debate. Several witnesses were examined at the bar, among whom were the governor, the chief justice, and the former attorney-general of Canada, the advocate-general, and a Canadian gentleman. In the testimony and opinions of these dignitaries there was little harmony. The governor declared, that the Canadians disapproved of the trial by jury, because they thought it "very extraordinary, that English gentlemen should believe their property safer, in the hands of tailors, shoemakers, and people in trade, than in those of the judges"; he said, they disapproved of the introduction of English civil law, because "they do not know what it is"; and that they desired no assembly, on account of the disputes which they saw prevailing between the crown and the representative bodies of the other Colonies. On this latter point, the chief justice was of the same opinion; for, as he pithily said, their only idea of an assembly was "that of a house of riot and confusion, which meets only to impede public business, and to distress the crown." Very different were the sentiments of the French noble, who believed that his conquered countrymen were very desirous of having an assembly, but had refrained from making their wishes known, because they understood that they would be compelled to bear the expense which its introduction would cause; and such a burden they were unable to endure. With regard to their preference for the English or French code of law, he was of opinion, that the former would be unobjectionable, if the tenures of land were allowed to remain unaltered. Upon the point of descents, dower, and transfer of lands, the former Colonial attorney-general expressed the same views; and he was convinced also, that, in other respects, the people would be satisfied with the abolition of the system which had been established by France.

The speeches which preceded and followed this examination were printed, and they show the warmth of the debate.

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Opposed to the bill were Dunning, who declared upon his conscience, that he thought it "destructive of every principle of freedom, and abounding with mischief of a most serious tendency"; Barré, who said it was "the most flagrant attack on the constitution, that had hitherto been attempted"; and Townshend, who affirmed, that it "established a despotic government." "Little did I think," continued he, "that a country as large as half of Europe, and now within the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, was going to have the Romish religion established in it as the religion of the state. Little did I think, that so many thousand men, entitled by birth to the rights of Englishmen, settling on the faith of the king's proclamation, should, contrary to that assurance, contrary to every idea of the constitution, be subjected to French Papists and French laws, in a country where, for full twelve years, nothing has prevailed but anarchy and confusion."

In defence of the bill appeared Lord North, Attorney-General Thurlow, and Solicitor-General Wedderburn. They affirmed, that English laws, however much prized in England, "would be the greatest curse imaginable to the Canadians." But the minister, being sorely pressed, at last disavowed all knowledge of the paternity of the bill. "I know not," said he, "who drew it up"; all he did know about it was, "that it is a bill from the other House"; but, said he, "all circumstances considered, I think the bill is the best that can at present be devised." Should we *guess* what these "circumstances" were, we might say, that his Lordship knew he had already quite as many Colonial assemblies to deal with as was for his comfort, or as he could well manage; and that he wished for no more to quarrel with "at present."

In America, the "Quebec Act" caused the most profound sensation. On turning to the doings of the Congress of the thirteen Colonies, we find that a committee was directed to prepare an address "to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec"; and the form which they reported, having been debated by paragraphs, was adopted, and ordered to be translated, printed, and distributed. This address embodied many of the objections which had been urged in parliament, and concluded with an eloquent appeal to the Canadians to unite with their American brethren, and thus to gain the influence of the whole people of the conti-

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nent in their behalf. In a petition to the king, which immediately followed, this act is enumerated among the injuries of which they complain. Of those who assented to both of these papers were Deane of Connecticut, whose political prospects closed in sorrow and dishonor, and Galloway of Pennsylvania, who abandoned the Whigs and became a most virulent and influential Loyalist. Congress followed up its protest of 1774, and, in the memorable document which declared the British empire dismembered, gave utterence to its indignation at the treatment of the Canadians in no measured words.

The form of government established by this obnoxious Quebec Act continued until the year 1791, when Mr. Pitt devised and carried through parliament, in opposition to Fox and the other British Whigs, a plan which, with some modifications, is in operation at the present time, not only in Canada, but throughout British America. The scheme provided for a House of Assembly, elected by freeholders and leaseholders, for four years ; a Legislative Council, appointed by the king, for life ; and an Executive or Privy Council, the members of which, as well as the lieutenant-governor, were to be appointed by the crown ; — thus imitating the three estates of the British constitution. Full power was given to raise, control, and expend all taxes and duties, and to pass such laws as might be deemed expedient, and not contrary to the acts of parliament ; subject, however, to the royal *veto*. Under this system, the practice has grown up of allowing the judges who were actually performing judicial duties to hold seats also in both the legislative and executive councils. Another object of Mr. Pitt was to divide the province into two parts, giving them the names of Upper and Lower Canada, which they retained until the late reunion. Of the wisdom of this division, and of the reasons assigned for it, we shall speak in another place.

It will be seen at a glance, that, by this system, the power of the crown controls the popular will as expressed in the House of Assembly, and can defeat any measure in two ways ; first, by the negative of the Legislative Council, and secondly, by the royal dissent directly expressed. Still, tolerable harmony appears to have prevailed between the different branches of government for a number of years. The first dispute which our limited space will allow us to

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mention occurred before the war of 1812, when the Assembly demanded that the judges should be required to vacate their seats as legislators, and to confine their attention to their judicial duties. This demand, and the offer to defray the expenses of the civil administration from means to be provided by the Colony, met with no favor, but, after a sharp contest of some duration, the governor dissolved the body which had brought up the dispute. This was the germ of the difficulties which now prevail, though the removal of Sir James Craig from the administration of affairs, the appointment of the more popular Sir George Prevost, and the rupture with the United States, hushed for a while the clamors of the discontented. At the peace, however, when Prevost relinquished the executive chair to Sir George Gordon Drummond, a second quarrel arose between the judges and a new Assembly, and two of the occupants of the bench were impeached. Drummond was succeeded, in 1816, by Sir John C. Sherbroke, under whose rule there was a period of quiet. On his retirement, his successor, the Duke of Richmond, by abandoning the practice of submitting to the Assembly an estimate in detail of the sums required to be voted for each branch of the public service, and adopting instead the plan of naming *aggregates* only, added another element of discord to those previously existing. The refusal of the Assembly to appropriate money in this way and "by chapters," and the passing of the supply bill in the usual form, produced an angry and protracted controversy. The Legislative Council, in this affair, as in the matter of the judges, took sides with the representative of the crown, and withheld their assent to the bill; whereupon the governor obtained the money he had applied for by drawing upon the receiver-general. After the death of the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Dalhousie was transferred from Nova Scotia to Canada, where he renewed the dispute as to appropriations, by determining the sum that would probably be wanted, and soliciting a grant of it for a term of years to come. The popular body refused to comply, and passed the bill of supplies in the usual form, specifying the precise objects to which the money voted should be applied. The Legislative Council again interposed their negative, and the Earl, like his predecessor, had recourse to the receiver-general; but going a step further, he drew for a sum larger than

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he had mentioned in his estimate. This occurred in 1820, in which year we may place the origin of well marked party organizations for and against the colonial administration.

We next find the Assembly contesting with Dalhousie the right of servants of the crown to designate in any manner the purposes to which the revenue should be applied, and bitterly complaining of its alleged unlawful and inexpedient expenditure. As Sir John Caldwell, the officer who had paid the drafts of the two governors in the cases mentioned, had become insolvent and could not restore a large sum of the public money, the Liberals gained a considerable accession to their party. In 1825, Dalhousie was absent from the Colony, and Sir Francis Burton, who was called *ad interim* to administer its affairs, made such large concessions to the popular demands, as to induce the Assembly to claim the disposal of *all* revenues, from whatever sources derived, and to determine that the executive branch should have no future control over them. The dispute hitherto had related to such portions of the public funds as were raised by taxation, and to the manner of expending what Mr. Huskisson called the "permanent" revenue, obtained by duties levied in place of those imposed under the French rule, and uniformly applied to the payment of the judiciary and the expenses of the civil list. It had not embraced another part, called the "casual" revenue, accruing from fines, penalties, and forfeitures, and from the sales of land and timber. Consequently, this bold push for the whole fiscal power excited an interest in Canadian politics never before manifested, and attracted the serious attention of the ministry. Down to this period, so far as we understand this vexed and intricate question, the crown had never sought to control the disbursement of Colonial taxes, nor to divert the "permanent" revenue from the objects for which it was first set apart; but it did claim entire control over the "casual" receipts, as "lord paramount." In respect to the permanent income, the crown, indeed, so far from desiring to divert it from its proper uses, seems to have wished to retain the right of designating the heads of its expenditure, mainly, if not entirely, in order to insure its being appropriated to these uses; and to have resisted the claims of the Assembly, from the apprehension, that the salaries of the judges, and of the other officers de-

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pendent upon it, would neither be adequate nor permanent, if these claims were granted.

Passing over intermediate events, we come to the transactions of the year 1827, when the offer was made by the home government to surrender to the Colonists the required management of the disputed revenue, on provision being made for a stipulated civil list. That this long contested matter would have been adjusted at this juncture and on these terms appears quite probable, but for the act of Lord Dalhousie in disapproving of the election of Mr. Papineau to the speaker's chair of the Assembly. The popularity of this gentleman was unbounded, and the Liberals, enraged beyond what such a circumstance warranted, gave vent to their feelings in the most exciting appeals to the multitude. Lord Dalhousie's administration closed without the usual session of the two legislative bodies, and amid the denunciations of many to whom his general conduct had been very obnoxious.

His successor, Sir James Kempt, who assumed the direction of Canadian affairs in 1828, desirous of hushing the storm, invited Papineau, as well as Neilson, another leader of the Liberals, to take seats in his Executive Council, and, pursuant to his instructions, gave assurances that the graver points of difference should be satisfactorily disposed of on the meeting of parliament. This promise was not fulfilled during Sir James's stay, in consequence of the decease of the king, George the Fourth; but Lord Aylmer, on taking his place, renewed the pledge, and, as the Liberals suppose or affirm, without conditions. But when he came to make known precisely the concessions of the ministry, and to require the settlement of a plan for the payment of the civil officers before the revenue in dispute was released, and to state, moreover, that the crown still proposed to retain the "casual" branch of the Colonial receipts, the quarrel, which had apparently come to a termination, was opened anew; and the Assembly, so far from evincing a disposition to concede any thing for the sake of restoring harmony, emphatically declared, that "under no circumstances, and upon no consideration whatever, would they abandon or compromise their claim to control the *whole* public revenue." Not long after, in 1831, the home government gave way. A bill which conceded the great points at issue passed both houses

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of parliament, and received the royal assent; but as Lord Aylmer was again instructed to ask for permanent provision for the judges and some other officers, new difficulties arose between the Assembly and the ministry, which our limits compel us to pass over without attention, except to say, that in the end the breach became as wide as ever.

Encouraged, it may be, by the advantages they had gained in this long and wearisome dispute about the finances, the Liberals now commenced an attack upon the Legislative Council. This body, composed principally of gentlemen who held other public stations, had become extremely obnoxious. To exclude from it all the judges, the chief justice excepted, had been one great object of the Liberals during the conflict which we have just noticed. The Assembly now boldly demanded the abolition of that branch as constituted under Mr. Pitt's act of 1791, and its election by the freeholders and leaseholders of a given description. In other words, they required, that this branch of the government should become as independent of the crown and of official influence as the Assembly itself. To this demand the ministry gave a flat refusal; and well they might, since it struck at the very foundation of the Colonial system. So far, indeed, from conceding any thing, it was intimated, in reply, that parliament might be compelled to exercise its "supreme authority," and to terminate all further dissensions by taking away some of the privileges already enjoyed. The Assembly now seemed to lose temper altogether. A long list of new grievances was prepared, many of the old ones were declared to be unredressed, the bill of supplies was rejected, the conduct of Lord Aylmer was severely reprobated and his recall demanded, and the claim for an elective Legislative Council renewed, in the most determined tone. Affairs had now come to a crisis. In nine sessions of the colonial parliament, the Legislative Council had rejected altogether one hundred and twenty-two bills passed by the Assembly, and had so amended forty-seven more, that the popular body would not accept them. The reconstruction of that branch on an elective basis had now become a fixed purpose on one side, while, on the other, the home government as resolutely determined, that the Council should stand as it was, not only in Lower Canada, but throughout British America. The Assembly, in the course of the difficulties which had

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arisen with regard to the sale and settlement of the public lands, had gradually advanced their pretensions, so that they now claimed the entire control over this property ; and the disputes as to the payment of the judges' stipends and their holding seats in the Council had given rise to the demand, that the judiciary should be made responsible to the colonial legislature, and not to the crown.

Such was the condition of things, when a change of administration took place, and Sir Robert Peel was made prime minister in place of Lord Melbourne. He determined to redress every *actual* wrong, and to appoint a commissioner to proceed to Canada, there to examine and decide upon the complaints which had been so pertinaciously urged upon the former ministry. As to the questions which we have already considered, the new minister expressed his willingness to surrender the " casual " revenue, on condition that the Assembly would provide a civil list for seven years ; but he declined to yield to that body the required management of the crown lands, or to reconstruct the Legislative Council. Before Sir Robert's plans were executed, another change occurred, which brought Lord Melbourne again into power ; but the scheme of a commission was carried out. Three distinguished gentlemen, charged with the important duty of restoring the alienated affections of the Canadians, and with the still more difficult task of quieting their leaders, were despatched under instructions to inquire into all causes of complaint, but not to adjust them. Lord Gosford, who was at the head of this commission, had the additional appointment of governor, as successor to Lord Aylmer. Though the overture for the settlement of the controversy about the revenue was renewed very nearly on the plan of Sir Robert Peel, and though the Assembly were to be allowed to expend the proceeds of the public lands, instead of admitting their pretensions to dispose of the lands themselves, still, as the most prominent matter was the reconstruction of the Legislative Council, and nothing was proposed to the Liberals in this particular, the attempt at reconciliation was a complete failure. Lord Gosford personally became very odious to men of all parties ; first, to the Conservatives, by his extreme intimacy with the Liberals, and afterwards to the latter party, on account of alleged deception in giving them hope that concessions would be made respecting the constitution

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of the Council. The Assembly, in fact, refused to grant the necessary supplies for the support of the government, and showed, by other movements, that they were looking to less peaceable means of accomplishing their desires. The year 1836 was a memorable period in Canadian politics; and having now traced in outline the affairs of the Lower Colony down to the time when the interposition of parliament was deemed necessary by both the great parties in England, we pass to a moment's consideration of the disturbances in Upper Canada.

The *expression* of discontent in this Colony is of very recent origin. Many causes of complaint had been supposed to exist for a considerable time, and persons had not been wanting to oppose the administration of affairs. Alleged abuses in the grants of land were among the earliest sources of irritation. The home government gave, however, satisfactory assurances of correcting whatever was amiss, and the subject ceased to be agitated by those who sought redress, and nothing more. Nor was it until 1834, when a new Assembly was chosen, that the Liberals found themselves able to commence an organized opposition to the servants of the crown. Having, by this election, secured a majority in the popular branch, they assumed, as it were in a moment, the extreme pretensions which had been slowly brought forward in the sister Colony for some fifteen years. There was no department of the public service which they did not charge with insufferable corruption, no rule of public policy which they did not declare injurious, or open to condemnation. Nor was this all; since a wish to secede from the mother country was hardly denied, or concealed under a decent veil. To pass from a state of tolerable unanimity and satisfaction to loud murmurs and open rebellion was scarcely the work of a year. In the hope of allaying the excitement, the ministry resolved upon a change of the governor, and Sir Francis Bond Head accordingly succeeded Sir John Colbourne, in 1836. Sir Francis, whatever may have been his reputation as a writer, or his merits as a soldier, was no politician. With the ministry then in power he had had no connection, and had never so much as seen the Colonial secretary. He had not even connected himself with any political party, or voted at an election. Great was his own surprise at receiving the appointment; nor was his wonder lessened,

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when, transferred to the scene of commotion, he saw large handbills displayed, which announced the arrival of "Sir Francis Head, *a tried Reformer.*" Difficulties soon beset him on every side. Among the subjects agitated before his arrival had been that of an elective Legislative Council, and when he made known the fact, that his instructions allowed of no concessions in this particular, he caused a rupture between Lord Gosford and the Liberals of Lower Canada; and having resisted the claims of his own Executive Council to act upon their recommendation and advice in the measures of his administration, he excited the indignation of that party against himself, and gave them occasion for recommencing the opposition which they had maintained against his predecessor. After his executive councillors had retired, the refusal of the Assembly to vote the usual money bills, and the drawing up of addresses to the House of Commons and the throne, followed, in imitation of the other Colony, almost as a matter of course. But Sir Francis, unlike Lord Gosford in Lower Canada, had preserved the confidence of the Conservatives, and addresses signed by upwards of twenty-eight thousand persons were transmitted to him. As a means of testing the real feelings of the Colonists, he determined to call a new Assembly. The election resulted favorably for his hopes, and the Liberals, besides losing some of their most influential members and best speakers, found themselves in a minority. Enraged beyond measure at the loss of their control of the popular branch, and unable thereby to carry out their plans of coöperation with their brethren elsewhere, in maturing further projects of legislative opposition, they fulminated charges of the grossest fraud and iniquity against their opponents, and directly accused Sir Francis himself of participation in the corrupt practices that had destroyed the effect of their appeals to the people. Indications that the royal authority would soon be disputed in the field became frequent and alarming, and attracted serious attention everywhere. The ministry, painful as was the necessity, felt compelled to increase the military force in the Canadas, and to look to parliament — irrespectively of party, were the thing possible — for its calm judgment and united wisdom. The desired aid was afforded by the Conservatives, and the measures proposed by their opponents in power were sustained; but the death of King William occurred before these meas-

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ures could be carried into effect, and they were postponed, rather than involve the illustrious lady who now occupies the throne in a conflict with her subjects at the commencement of her reign.

But information reached the Canadas in due time, that measures of coercion had been postponed on account of the demise of the crown, and not from any unwillingness on the part of government to employ them. Then the popular ferment could no longer be restrained. The events which occurred at the close of 1837, and during a part of 1838, are too fresh in the recollection of our readers to require consideration here. The attempt to seize upon Toronto, the capital of the Upper Colony, the affairs at St. Denis, St. Charles, Bois Blanc, Pointe au Pelée, and other places of hostile meeting, showed how very slight was the hold of the Liberals upon the mass of the people ; upon what slender resources they had ventured into an open warfare with a mighty power ; and how miserably deficient they were, not only in military talent, but in confidence in each other. The horrors of St. Eustache afforded melancholy proof, — of what, indeed, human history is full of, — that, when brother fights brother, no barbarities seem too great to be practised ; since females were outraged, the insurgents were needlessly slain, the unresisting were pillaged and murdered, and the bodies of the dead were suffered to lie unburied and exposed to every insult. Nor did the attempt to set up a provisional government at Navy Island, and to retrieve their fortunes by accessions from the United States, aided as they were by the universal and entirely justifiable indignation of the American people for the destruction of the Caroline, show that the reliance of the Liberals upon foreign aid had any other basis than idle hopes and conjectures.

Of the fallen we would always speak in pity, — of the guilty, in mercy; but we cannot excuse men of talents and education, of political experience and knowledge of the world, who send others of far humbler pretensions, in their place, to the scaffold. Leaders who place halters round the necks of the led are bound to show the justice of their cause, and reasonable expectations of success. The Liberals, as it seems to us, had neither. We enjoy some opportunities for observing the operation and tendencies of the Colonial system, and yield to none in hearty detestation of it. A

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system less calculated to perfect the human character, to develope the resources of a country, to facilitate internal intercourse, to educate children, to insure responsibility in persons clothed with authority, as we conceive, can hardly be devised. But the blows dealt to it at Lexington and Yorktown made it harmless for all purposes of oppression; and no case has occurred, as we believe, since the thirteen Colonies broke its bonds, to justify an attempt to overthrow it by violence and bloodshed. It exists in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as well as in the Canadas; and in the questions of revenue, the Legislative Council, and the expulsion of judges from a participation in political concerns, the people of these Colonies are as deeply interested as those who attempted a revolution, without the means, preparation, courage, or skill, necessary to insure victory on a single battle-ground. Why, then, has there been comparative quiet in the Colonies first named, and recourse to arms in the others? Nay, more, why did the great body of the Canadians themselves refuse to coöperate with those who proposed to set them free? The only answer to these questions places on the heads of a few persons a fearful responsibility.

The attempt of the Liberals to liken their situation, and the objects for which they contended, to those of the Whigs of our Revolution was absurd in the extreme. Their affectation of adopting the general sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, and the incorporation of large portions of it into their manifesto of wrongs, might excite a smile, but for the sad fate of many whom so stirring an array of grievances misled; while the erection of "liberty poles," the organization of a band called the "Sons of Liberty," and the resolves to stop the consumption of British manufactures, as well as the persecution of neutrals and confessed opponents, were but parts of the machinery contrived to operate upon the public mind and spread needless discontent, however closely copied from the doings of the Whigs of 1776.

By the celebrated Declaratory Act of 1778, the mother country renounced the right to tax her Colonies, so that the "revenue" question in Canada was merely one of expending, not of levying, taxes. The question respecting the "mandamus counsellors," in the leading northern Colony of the "old thirteen," arose because the elective right by charter had been infringed; but in the case before us, the struggle

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was for a privilege never enjoyed; and the same is also true of the matter of "salaries." But prior to any of these, and overtopping them all in the dismembered Colonies, were subjects which did not enter into the Canadian disputes in any shape or form whatever. We allude to the efforts to confine Colonial enterprises upon the sea to dealing with possessions of the crown, to stint the growth of Colonial commerce and navigation, and to prevent the Colonists from manufacturing their own raw materials into articles of pressing necessity. Exactly the reverse, in these respects, had become the well settled policy, with regard to the present possessions of Great Britain in America, years before the period of which we are speaking. Between the persons who were prominent in the events of 1776, and those who rebelled in 1837, we institute no comparison; our readers must do that for themselves.

The insurrection suppressed, its plotters fallen under the hands of the executioner, confined within the walls of prisons, or fled to other lands, Lord Durham was solicited to undertake the almost hopeless task of reconciling the differences which had produced the revolt. He refused the application of the ministry, at first, it is said, and consented at last only upon the personal request of his sovereign. Refusing, too, we think, all pecuniary compensation, he undertook the mission. His outfit was on a scale of royal magnificence, and his powers as great as royalty ever confers upon a subject. He erred upon a single point, recrossed the ocean with a broken spirit, was pursued with a malignity unknown save in party strife, and was soon carried to the tomb of his fathers. Among British statesmen he had occupied the first rank. Like most men of noble nature, he was proud and sensitive, and could not brook dishonorable imputation, or hold official station, after those, who were bound at least to remember the motives which induced him to undertake a service in which all who preceded him had failed, refused to sustain him. The charge has been made, that he abandoned his post in indecorous and abrupt haste, and threw down his high trust in bad temper. Possibly it was so; still, we honor the feelings which prompted the act.

The offence for which Lord Durham was rebuked consisted in the decree of banishment against Papineau and some of his associates who had fled, and against Wolfred Neilson,

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Bouchette, and others, without trial, but on confession of guilt, to the Bermudas, which were not within his jurisdiction, under penalty of death for return without official permission. For the disposal of those in custody three courses were open; to try them, to release them, or, as was done, to send them away. To have taken the first course would have been to insure their conviction and death; to have released them would have been undue leniency; and the middle course, which was adopted, was open to the objection of technical illegality. There was, indeed, a fourth way, that of commutation of punishment after the tribunals had decided upon their guilt. But his Lordship's great purpose was to heal animosities, to restore quiet to the public mind, and to enable the people to resume their accustomed employments; and who could have answered for the public tranquillity, during the period between the arraignment and the pardon of the guilty, under the irritated state of feeling which then existed among the discomfited and desperate revolutionists? Lord Durham's fault, therefore, was that of mercy.

When tidings of the disallowance of his ordinance reached him, Lord Durham was on the point of introducing several changes which promised well, both because they would have effected immense reforms when carried out, and because, when promulgated, the disaffected would have seen, that the long wished-for work of redress had actually been commenced on a bold and comprehensive plan. These measures were the granting of free municipal institutions; a scheme for general education; a simple and cheap system for the registry of titles of landed property; and a commutation of the feudal tenure of estates in Montreal. And these were but an earnest of other measures, which he designed should follow; among which were plans for works of internal improvement, for extending commercial enterprises, for insuring a competent administration of justice, and, generally, for eradicating the manifold abuses which had grown up by neglect, or had been fostered during a long period of civil commotion.

We pass to a rapid notice of subsequent events, and to the administrations of Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, the present governor-general of British America. In 1840, the two Canadas were united; since which time the Upper Colony has been known as Can-

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ada West, and the Lower as Canada East. Under this union, the Executive or Privy Council consists of eleven members, who compose the cabinet; the Legislative Council, or upper legislative branch, has thirty-two members; and the Assembly has eighty-four, or forty-two from each division of the Colony. The Assembly only is elective, the two Councils being appointed by the same authority as before. The construction of the Assembly is unsatisfactory, because a minority of the electors choose a majority of its members. It has been alleged, that, in the House dissolved by Sir Charles Metcalfe in the proclamation named at the head of this article, several persons obtained seats from very populous counties by the instrumentality of bodies of hired and armed men. Whatever may be the truth of this charge, it formed a subject of inquiry in the Assembly, at its first session; but a bill designed to facilitate the investigation, which passed that branch, was thrown out by the Legislative Council.

Omitting further mention of the proceedings of 1841, when parties merely marshalled their forces for assault and defence under the new state of things, we come to the session of 1842, at the opening of which an answer to the governor's speech was a topic of warm discussion for thirteen days. To the form of answer presented by his Excellency's friends the opposition introduced an amendment, declaring, that the popular sentiment required a change of advisers. The result was the reconstruction of the Executive Council, and a new distribution of executive favor and patronage. Among the gentlemen who now received offices were several who had been actively engaged in the insurrection. Of this description were Mr. Girouard, who was imprisoned for his offences at that period, and Mr. Lafontaine, for whose apprehension a high reward was offered. The latter, as well as Mr. Baldwin, another steady Liberal, was made a member of the cabinet. The Executive Council, as remodelled, comprised six of the former members, and five new ones.

A new era in the administration of Canadian affairs was thus commenced. The presence of such men as Lafontaine and Baldwin in the courts of law as attorney-generals of the crown, and in the Privy Council as advisers of the governor-general, evinced a great change of feeling on both sides. A "responsible government" had been the last demand of

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Colonial importunity, and here it was actually organized, and expected to heal the political diseases of half a century.

As the term "responsible government" may need some explanation, we will endeavour to give an idea of what is meant by it, though it is so vague and shadowy that we may not succeed. It seems, then, to be a term invented to embody *all* Colonial desires in a single word. Its advocates claim, that the public functionaries who hold office under the crown shall be "responsible" to the people; in other words, that, whenever the popular sentiment shall demand certain appointments, or certain removals, they shall be made; and that this sentiment, as expressed by members of the Executive Council, or the elective branch of the government, shall determine the course of conduct on the part of the queen's immediate representatives. How this rule can be adopted in colonies, we do not well see; for the plan, if carried out, we conceive, would make the will of the people, or that of their delegates, the supreme ruling power, and the vote of an assembly of higher authority than the royal instructions. Colonies cannot be subject to a monarchy, and at the same time govern themselves; nor can colonial governors obey their sovereign, and, at the same time, satisfy all the desires of the colonists among whom they reside. Such a government, however, it is asserted, can exist, and it has been authorized by the English ministry. It is supported by its friends, therefore, both on grounds of practicability, and the positive assurances of the ministry. As regards the latter point, we can only say, that we have met with no state paper that promises the remodelling of Colonial affairs on this basis. The two celebrated despatches of Lord John Russell, which bear upon the question, are now before us, and we find in one a direct exposition of the views entertained in Downing Street on the scheme of "responsibility," and that the other relates to the tenure of office. Both were written in October, 1839, and are to be examined in connection. The first is addressed to governor-general Thompson, subsequently Lord Sydenham, and not only explicitly and pointedly discountenances a government of this sort, but forbids him to entertain "any proposition on the subject." The second, which was written to Sir John Harvey, lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, gives the popular voice no power in determining what appointments

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shall be made, or revoked. As we read it, its sole aim is, to advise incumbents that offices are no longer to be held for life; that, whenever removals should be deemed expedient, *changes would occur; and that the governors of the Colonies*, instead of being bound to retain the officials bequeathed by their predecessors, as had been the practice, might make selections for themselves, subject to the approval of the sovereign. Among the dignitaries to whom these rules are to be applicable, are the Colonial secretaries, the receiver, surveyor, attorney, and solicitor generals, and members of the Council, especially in the Colonies where the Legislative and Executive Councils are distinct bodies. In the discussions upon these often cited documents, which from time to time have fallen under our observation, nothing has amused us more than the grave and labored efforts of the opponents of "responsibility" to show, that a "responsible government" in the United States has proved an entire failure, and that the published speeches of Mr. Webster and of Mr. Calhoun confess it, and show it most conclusively. How the system — adopted, as we have said — has worked in the Colonies, we have next to consider.

The *coalition* ministry in Canada lasted but little more than a year. Near the close of 1843, every member of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Executive Council, Mr. Daly excepted, resigned his place. Mr. Lafontaine, a gentleman of confessed ability, was considered its head, and the French influence was paramount in it; and hence, we suppose, the cause of its dissolution. The French members of the Assembly, and the Liberals of British origin, acted in concert, and, as they formed a majority of that body, Mr. Lafontaine is alleged to have had entire control of it, and to have been, indeed, a dictator. The points at issue between the governor-general and his advisers, at the time of the rupture, are, perhaps, not certainly known. But it is apparent, we think, that they separated on differences growing out of the "responsibility" principle; that the royal prerogative in the person of Sir Charles, and the popular sentiment in the persons of his councillors, could not be made to work in harmony. It has been said, however, that some of the members were personally offensive to his Excellency, and that this circumstance had an influence in terminating their official relations.

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We must here leave the political concerns of Canada, and consider those of Nova Scotia; remarking, as we quit the topic, that the difficulties subsequent to the event last mentioned, show, that, whatever the course of Sir Charles may be for the future, and whatever his hopes from the election, just now terminated, of members of the Assembly, his administration, wise though it be, is almost sure to close in turmoil as great as that which has marked the retirement of nearly every one of his predecessors.

The dissensions in Nova Scotia will occupy but little of our time. Until 1836, it is believed, there was no formal or strenuous opposition to the measures of the representative of the crown, nor any urgent demands for changes of existing and long established institutions. Without a detailed narrative of events which have since occurred, we propose to notice only two or three occurrences of a late date. Between Sir Colin Campbell and the House of Assembly there was a war of some three years' duration, in which the latter manifested great spirit, and arraigned the vicious system under which the government was conducted, in terms which at times were highly disloyal, and even revolutionary. The governor, his advisers, and the chief functionaries of the Colony, unable to stem the current of popular feeling against them, and reluctant to yield to it, maintained their side of the controversy with equal ardor, though in much better temper, until the ministry closed it by transferring Sir Colin to the executive chair of another colony. Lord Falkland, the present lieutenant-governor, succeeded him. Among the early efforts of his Lordship to unite parties, and put an end to the heats and animosities which they had occasioned, was the trial of a coalition ministry. Of the Liberals, who were invited to take seats in his Executive Council, were Mr. Howe, the leader of that party, and Mr. Young, the present speaker of the Assembly. The former gentleman is of the family of a Boston royalist, was bred a printer, for some time conducted a newspaper of great influence, and is an able political writer. He had been offered a place under the administration against which he had led the opposition. His acceptance of office now produced the alienation of some of his friends, and bitter attacks from his foes. When, subsequently, the post of collector of excise and impost became vacant by the death of the person who had held it for

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half a century, and the emoluments of this collectorship were added to his honors as a cabinet minister, disapprobation was loudly expressed in all quarters. While at the head of opposition, Mr. Howe conducted matters pretty much as he saw fit. In his new position, neither he nor his associates of the same party, though dispensing patronage to friends and opponents, possessed the confidence of either. The government as thus constituted failed to secure a majority of the Assembly, and to effect the passage of its measures. Thus situated, Lord Falkland dissolved that branch, and ordered the election of a new House. Soon after, and within a few days of the withdrawal of the advisers of Sir Charles Metcalfe, Messrs. Howe, McNab, and Uniacke, who held the additional place of solicitor-general, resigned their seats in the Council.

That here, among a people so different from the Canadian population, considered as a whole, the experiment to carry on a "responsible government" failed, may be sufficient proof, that such a system is unsuited to colonists, and cannot succeed among them. The difficulties of uniting and keeping in harmonious action the royal prerogative and the popular will are more apparent than in the case of Canada, because the reasons of secession are better known. In the correspondence between Lord Falkland and the seceders, his Lordship states distinctly, that, from the time of his arrival in the Colony down to the disruption, every appointment to the Executive Council, and all but one to the Legislative Council, as well as the larger portion of the other offices in his gift, had been made under the influence of the party to which these persons were attached, and of which they claimed to be delegates. Though his intention to make Mr. Almon their associate at the Council board was the cause of their resignation, this nomination was the first of which they had expressed disapprobation. The coalition was dissolved, then, upon a question of patronage; the issue having been, whether official distinction should be conferred by certain members of the Council, who were responsible to the Assembly, and through that body to the people, or by Lord Falkland, the representative of the sovereign authority of the realm.

Between the statements of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. Lafontaine there are marked discrepancies, and we have

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hesitated to say, therefore, on what exact rock "responsible government" made shipwreck in Canada; but in Nova Scotia there is no room to doubt, because the parties concur. Assuming that the retiring councillors in both Colonies acted on the same principles and maintained the same pretensions, we perceive that they in fact struck at the very foundation of the system under which they live. The *royal prerogative* was not attacked in the thirteen Colonies till a late period in the dispute, and the fountain of patronage was left to flow freely until *subjects* resolved to become *citizens*.

Lord Falkland, in his opening speech to the legislature, in February, 1844, adverted to the policy which he had pursued, and the customary address was moved in answer to it; whereupon a most angry debate followed for fourteen days, in which Mr. Howe and his friends went over the grounds of difficulty, and attempted to justify their conduct. The amendment they proposed was rejected, every member being present, and the House of Assembly in a body waited on the governor to present the answer in its original form. The Hibernia steamer arrived at the capital while this debate was pending, and brought Lord Falkland a despatch approving of his course in the trial to which he had been subjected, and confirming the nomination of Mr. Almon. It is understood, that a negotiation was opened for the return of Mr. Howe and his colleagues to the Council, but that no satisfactory terms could be arranged, and it was broken off. However this may be, these gentlemen continued in active opposition, and the session closed with the Liberal party reorganized under them, and the presses under their influence in full operation against the administration which they had abandoned. The present Assembly is regarded as unusually able, and among its members has several adroit and practised speakers, both Conservative and Liberal. What measures of attack have been matured by the latter during the recess, our readers are likely soon to know through the ordinary channels of intelligence. When certainty is so soon to follow speculation, conjecture were idle; still, we cannot but believe, that agitation in Nova Scotia is to be continued and increased. One thing we may venture to say is nearly certain, that storm or calm depends much on the leading Liberal whose name we have so often mentioned.

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The politics of New Brunswick have attracted but little attention. Sir Howard Douglas, appointed lieutenant-governor in 1824, had a long and tolerably quiet and popular administration. His successor, Sir Archibald Campbell, was compelled to encounter opposition of a formidable character, and to meet many of the questions which we considered when speaking of the Canadas. Here, however, it should be remarked, excitement has never been intense among the mass of the people, and during the periods of active warfare between opposing politicians, they have remained almost passive spectators, participating seldom in the heat of party strifes, except on the dissolution of assemblies, and during the elections which have followed. Although, then, the disposal of the "casual" revenue, and the responsibility of the Executive or Privy Council, have been subjects of discussion, and at times of fierce dispute between the Assembly and the officers of the crown, general and abiding divisions have not existed as elsewhere. On the matter of the "casual" revenue, Sir Archibald and the elective branch of the legislature came to an open rupture. Having been instructed to surrender this portion of the public receipts, he deferred compliance, and advised the ministry of his reasons. The Assembly, being displeased and impatient, addressed the throne, and a committee of that body waited on the governor, and apprized him of the fact. His reply was too pithy and dignified to be omitted.

"Gentlemen," said he, "the conscientious rectitude of my own conduct has made the subject of this address to me a matter of the most perfect indifference. I have had the honor of serving his Majesty for nearly half a century, in almost every quarter of the globe; and I trust those services have been such as to suffer no diminution in the estimation of my sovereign from any representation that may be made by the House of Assembly of New Brunswick."

Our limits forbid further notice of the differences in Sir Archibald's time, and we hasten to that of Sir John Harvey, who succeeded him in 1837. Sir John's career was a stormy one. He had warm friends and bitter foes. That our readers may judge of the nature of the attack and defence, we quote from a debate in the Assembly in 1842. We select this particular speech, because it was delivered

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by the honorable Speaker of the House, a gentleman of high consideration, and reputed to possess great wealth, and because it affords proof, that political ferocity and personal invective can be practised among those who object to our institutions on account of their supposed tendency to produce these evils. The Speaker, in the course of his remarks, is reported to have said,

"That Sir John Harvey's name had been unnecessarily brought into the debate, and much had been said respecting the grant to him of £1500 for a service of plate, and which a certain faction had made use of to create excitement in the country, and make impressions unfavorable to the character of that distinguished gentleman; and he could not, as his name had been so frequently used in discussing this question, avoid alluding to another grant made at the last session, — the contingent grant of £1000. Sir John had scarcely left Fredericton, and, as Mr. S. believed, had not yet embarked at St. John, when it became publicly known, that all that fund had been expended. By whom this was communicated we have no means of knowing; but, said he, it is notorious that the enemies of Sir John Harvey circulated through the Province, by their emissaries, the most foul, false, and slanderous reports, for the purpose of injuring the private character of that honest, high-minded, liberal, and distinguished officer. He was by these slanderers charged with having appropriated the grant for contingencies, or a large part of it, to his own private use, and thus committing a fraud upon the public revenue. He had often indignantly seen the conduct of some of those already alluded to, those cringing, creeping, fawning, hypocritical sycophants, who would go to Sir John Harvey, and by declarations of devoted friendship for him, and of approval of his measures, impose upon his noble, honest, and unsuspecting disposition, and by such means — he (Sir John) supposing that they were like himself, honorable and above deception — obtain favors of which they were wholly undeserving; and in return, they were found on all occasions, by the most malignant and slanderous means, endeavouring to injure him in his public reputation, and to wound his private character. He now distinctly declared, without fear of contradiction, that *not one penny* of the contingent grant was appropriated to the private use of Sir John; and he pronounced those who asserted that he had so appropriated any part of it to be slanderers of the most base and malignant stamp. He said he had not language fully to express the abhorrence which every honest man would naturally feel at the base conduct of those slanderers. Had Sir

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John Harvey remained in this Province, these wretches might have had the miserable palliation of unprincipled men, *that they had a political object to gain;* but to continue such villanous attacks after he had left the Province, and when no object could have existed but the gratification of the most deadly malice, was a degree of atrocity seldom, if ever, witnessed in a Christian country. But, said he, Mr. Chairman, Sir John Harvey is far above the reach of their malice; his character stands too high to be injured by such slanderers, in the mind of any honest man. He has attained an elevation of character which they can never reach; they may look up, and, like *the rich man and Lazarus*, they may behold afar off, — but there is a great gulf between him and them, which they can never pass."

Since the adjustment of the question of "casual" revenue in New Brunswick, on the basis of yielding it to the direction of the Assembly, if they would grant a reasonable civil list, the question of "responsible government" has received some attention, and considerable use was made of the phrase during the election for the Assembly in 1842. Some of the candidates, however, avowed their ignorance of what it was, and desired to be enlightened. At present, several subjects of interest are before the people of this Colony. Of these, we may mention that of the removal of the seat of government from Fredericton, in the interior, to St. John, on the seaboard; the settlement of the boundary line with Canada; the reduction of salaries; and the embarrassed condition of the Colonial finances. As regards the boundary, we had hoped that this well-nigh interminable question was disposed of; but there are indications that it is to become a bone of contention between the authorities of the two Colonies. Canada claims to extend to the vicinity of that somewhat celebrated spot in diplomacy, "Mars Hill"; while New Brunswick has had the jurisdiction as far as those very remarkable "highlands," which his Majesty of the Netherlands so easily found in the bed of a river, and to that very *well* ascertained point, the "northwest angle of Nova Scotia." The distinction between rivers flowing into the Atlantic from those falling into the Bay of Fundy is a point which, we hope, will *now* be made quite clear. Besides these topics, a reconstruction of the Legislative Council is demanded in some quarters, on the ground, that all religious sects should be represented in it; its present members, with

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two exceptions, being Episcopalians. A change is required, also, on account of inequalities in other respects. Thus, some counties have an undue share of members,* while five are not represented at all; and a majority of the Council, and especially of those who attend the sessions, hold other and important offices, at the pleasure of the crown.

In closing our remarks, we would bear cheerful testimony to the uniform kindness of feeling manifested by our neighbours of New Brunswick towards the citizens of the republic whose homes are on the frontiers. "Predatory excursions across the border," said they, during the war of 1812, "will do nothing to adjust the differences between the two nations; and we will refrain from them." In the "Aroostook troubles," the government of Maine deemed it wise to station an armed force at Calais; but the subjects of her Majesty on the opposite side still came among their old friends, and could hardly have been driven to commence acts of aggression. More recently, when the principal town on the American side of the Passamaquoddy was swept by a conflagration, the inhabitants of St. John made up a liberal contribution — the only one that was offered — for the relief of the sufferers.

We enter now upon a brief exposition of some causes of disaffection, not hitherto noticed in our inquiries. These are many. Some exist in one Colony, some in another, and others are common to all. It is alleged by a numerous party in New Brunswick, that the salaries of the judges, the Colonial secretary, the clerk of the Supreme Court, and other dignitaries, as well as the emoluments of the principal city officers of St. John, are far too great; and the same charge is preferred against the receipts of several of the high personages of Nova Scotia. In the latter Colony, the inequality of representation in the House of Assembly is forcibly presented, as a matter demanding immediate correction; while in both, the calls upon the mother country to adopt their construction of the treaty of 1818, which defines our rights of fishing on their coasts, are loud and incessant. In

*A small town, until the recent death of one person, had three members, or a sixth part of the whole number. It still has two, who are both sons of Massachusetts Loyalists; and the deceased councillor's wife was the daughter of another, who sold that obnoxious article, "*tea*," in Dock Square, Boston. The fathers and father-in-law were proscribed and banished.

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the former, complaints are made, also, of misapplication of the school fund, and a case is cited in which one favored family received the allowance assigned to a whole precinct. In Nova Scotia, there rages a heated contest for the endowment of sectarian colleges. In Upper Canada, religious zeal is evinced in another form ; and, as our fathers at the revolutionary era apprehended that Episcopacy was to overshadow them, so, here, the recent creation and endowment of more than fifty rectories has awakened the same fear, and given utterance to a similar animated protest on the part of the dissenting sects. The Colonists everywhere complain, that they are not allowed to impose differential duties in order to protect their interests from foreign competition ; and they consider it a grievance, that the imperial tariff acts, framed for "an empire upon which the sun never sets,"* should provide for the regulation of their commerce with other countries. When James Otis and Patrick Henry caused the startling cry of "Treason! Treason!" to ring through the legislative halls of the two mother Colonies of America, the opinion had not been repeatedly expressed, that "six hundred men, who, perhaps, have never been out of Europe, cannot possess that universality of information, which must be necessary to regulate the unbounded commerce and foster the illimitable resources of every race of men on the face of the globe"; or, still farther, that "the uncompromising assertion and unwise exercise of this power of *commercial regulation* will awaken a spirit of abhorrence for Great Britain among her Colonies, that will shake the empire to its centre." It was late in the controversy with "the thirteen," that the right of "commercial regulation" was denied. Between this right, and that of external and internal taxation, it was maintained that there was a difference ; but a distinction so subtile, we confess, has ever eluded our grasp. We will only say in addition, that, though, in theory,

* This beautiful thought is used in a variety of forms, and as if it were of recent origin. The honor of its conception, originally, belongs to an early period. That well known personage, "*Captaine Iohn Smith, sometimes Governour of Virginia and Admirall of New England*," in his "*Advertisements for the Inexperienced, or the Pathway to erect a Plantation*," published in 1631, says, "I could wish every Englishman to carry alwaies this Motto in his heart; why should the brave Spanish souldiers brag, *The Sunne never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shineth on one part or other we have conquered for our King?*"

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the home government has always claimed the power to regulate commerce, many of the Colonial legislatures have long since passed tariff laws discriminating in favor of their own industry, and that no serious effort has been made to prohibit local legislation on the subject until quite lately. It is an embarrassing question, whenever opened. No way to answer it could be found in 1776, that would satisfy all parties; and subsequently, the sisterhood of States found no plan so likely to end the dissensions which sprang up, after those with their common parent had closed, as that of placing their commercial interests in the keeping of a federal head.

It is urged, that Colonial ships are denied the rank to which they are entitled, and that other prejudices excited against them do their owners no little harm. As by the rules "at Lloyd's," and elsewhere among underwriters in England, vessels "plantation-built" are seldom rated as "A. 1"; and as this rank, when obtained, is lost by age in a few years, this class of ships are generally kept out of the best employments, and many of them, cast off by John, find their way, with a sagacity quite remarkable, to Jonathan's cotton ports. Since the peace of 1815, upwards of six thousand vessels, of more than three quarters of a million of tons, have been built in British America; and it is believed, that the number of these employed in the China, East India, Cape, and Australian trades has been small, though a very considerable portion of the aggregate tonnage has been sold in the British Isles. This state of things has been displeasing to the Colonists concerned in shipping; while, on the other side of the ocean, British merchants and artisans, to guard their interests still more effectually, actually desire to impose restrictions upon Colonial navigation entering at the home ports.

Besides the exciting subjects of contention, of which we have spoken, in Lower Canada, we might enumerate several others. We select two, though both arose mainly from one cause, — the old feudal tenure of lands. First, the French *seigneuries*, intervening between lands free for settlement, have greatly increased the difficulty and cost of making roads, and opening other facilities of transportation between the principal towns and neighbourhoods. The numerous and scattered clergy-reserves have increased the evil. We

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remember to have seen it stated in the House of Commons, that, in consequence of these and similar difficulties, no road bill was passed by the Assembly of that Colony for fifteen years. In the second place, these lordships have been the source of great trouble, on account of the peculiar relations which they created between their owners and those who held under them, either as vassals, or by descent. They have been so frequently divided and subdivided, that, in some instances, the parts of owners were exceedingly small. Thus, Canadian newspapers have advertised for sale one thirteen-hundredth, one third of one seventh, and the forty-fourth part of a one two-hundred-and-fortieth, of an estate. It is needless to dwell on the necessity of modifying a system which leads to such complicated results as these ; and it is impossible to wonder, that the population of British origin have so earnestly insisted on having the tenure of real property simplified, and brought within rules which can be clearly understood. These *seigneuries* were grants by the French king to officers of the army, and to such others as had interest enough to procure them. They extended from a place nearly ninety miles below Quebec to about thirty miles above Montreal, and were nearly a hundred in number. Their existence has shut up a large extent of country on the St. Lawrence and its tributaries to the almost irresistible energies of the Saxon race. Englishmen, in the bosom of an English colony, have been treated as aliens and foreigners. All who went thither were promised, in the proclamation to which we have once referred, "the enjoyment of the benefits of the laws of our realm of England." Was the royal faith, plighted under the great seal of the kingdom, kept? Most faithfully, for a while. Why, then, were these laws introduced, and, on the eve of our Revolution, abolished? In the consultations of ministers, had the one event any connection with the other? It was hoped, probably, that the restoration of the old system, and the establishment of a religion so abhorrent to the Puritans, would awe New England ; and if the boundaries of Canada were extended along the northern and western lines of Pennsylvania to the Ohio, and thence to the Mississippi, so as to encircle the whole of the disaffected Colonies, it would be seen, that open revolt would bring upon these Colonies a fearful French and Indian warfare along their inland frontier, while the fleets and armies

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of the king ravaged their coasts. If they returned to their duty, this immense Colony and these institutions were to be a standing admonition to submission. The thought of "checking their growth," which Franklin rebuked, probably came up again.

Of the pertinency of these speculations our readers will judge. To us they seem not wholly without force. The letters of the Whigs, and their proceedings in Congress, evince great anxiety on the subject of the "Quebec Bill." The extinction of French power had been a favorite plan in the Colonies from the time of William and Mary, and the blood of New England had been shed upon every battle-ground in French America. We have seen, that a party in England had opposed the retention of Canada after its conquest, on the ground, that its annexation to the British crown would endanger the permanency of British rule, and that Franklin's interposition, and recital of the services and sacrifices of his countrymen in the war with the French, had been effectual. In politics, to open the Canada question anew, even at the expense of the sovereign's honor, may have been a grand movement. But the long train of disasters which have followed should teach politicians, that, in their proceedings, as in the private walks of life, perfidy is never successful. The wrong done by the Quebec Act furnished one of the reasons solemnly submitted to the world to justify the first dismemberment of the British empire; and a continuance of this wrong will hasten the second. But for that, the conquerers and the vanquished would long since have mingled and become one people. It took but a single generation to accomplish this fusion of races on the Mississippi, and it could not have taken three on the St. Lawrence. Lord St. Vincent, at the peace of 1783, predicted, that Canada would be "a running sore and the source of endless expense"; and he advised Lord Shelburne to surrender it. "My clear opinion is," said he, "that, if this fair occasion for giving up Canada is neglected, nothing but difficulty, in either keeping or resigning it, will ever after be known." How exact has been the fulfilment of this prediction! The course of our remarks has led us through many changes of administration, and who, at the head of the colonial office in Downing Street, has appeared exempt from difficulty in managing the Canadas?

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The question suggests another topic of complaint, with which we leave this part of our subject. It is charged against the home government, that, instead of enjoying the benefit of the talents and wisdom of the ministry generally, and of the Colonial secretary especially, the weighty interests of British America have been intrusted, for a number of years, to the sole management of Mr. Under-Secretary Stephen. This is said to be the opinion of many of the Colonial governors, of many of the crown officers resident in the Colonies, and of many of the merchants in England connected with their trade. Unseen and irresponsible, he has managed, or mismanaged, every thing. We merely mention the accusation and leave it.

Having stated, as succinctly as we are able, the causes of the dissensions prevalent in the three Colonies, we may now say a few words respecting the different races which people them, and their relations to each other. In Lower Canada, as our readers are well aware, the struggle is between persons of French and British origin, each striving for the mastery. Mr. Pitt seems to have considered the amalgamation of the two as impossible, and to have urged a division of the Colony, in 1791, mainly for this reason. The emigrants from the British isles, it is true, were not very numerous at this time ; but the American Loyalists had gone there by thousands, and they were the class for whom he designed the special favor of a separate government. That the policy was unwise is, we think, sufficiently apparent from what we have said of the act of 1774 ; and that such is now the opinion of the statesmen of England is evident from the recent reunion. The process, so lately undertaken, of mingling into one the French, the American, and the direct British races, it were needless to repeat, might long since have been accomplished. Of the result, upon a trial under existing circumstances, it would be useless to conjecture. While Lower Canada was a separate Colony, the French were generally able to control the elective branch of the government ; and as we understand the basis of representation under the union, they are pretty sure to do so still.

By the line of division established by Mr. Pitt's act, the Loyalists, as a body, were placed by themselves. They were the first settlers of Upper Canada ; nor was it till about the opening of the present century, that any considerable

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accessions were made to the population of that Colony from other sources. For twenty years, the country bordering on the Great Lakes was decidedly American. Our expatriated countrymen were generally poor, and some of them were actually without means to provide for their common wants rom day to day. The government, for which they had become exiles, was as liberal as they could have asked. It gave them lands, tools, materials for building, and the means of subsistence for two years ; and to each of their children, as they became of age, two hundred acres of land. And besides this, of the offices and patronage created by the organization of a new colonial government they were the chief recipients. The ties of kindred and suffering in a common cause created a strong bond of sympathy between them, and for years they bore the appellation of " United Empire Loyalists."

As we mentioned in our last number some of the places settled by adherents of the crown in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, we might dispense with particulars here. Still, it may not be amiss to add some general observations. When the revolutionary struggle commenced in Massachusetts, the inhabitants of these two Colonies, then forming but one, were sadly immoral and wretchedly poor. A letter from a Mr. Grant to Dr. Stiles is preserved, in which the writer quaintly says of Halifax, his place of residence, " We have upwards of one hundred licensed houses, and perhaps as many more which retail spirituous liquors without license ; so that the business of one half the town is to sell rum, and of the other half to drink it " ; and from the same source we learn, that on the river St. John, a tract now teeming with thousands of our lineage, the population was only four hundred. Both at Halifax and on the St. John there was a strong feeling in favor of the Whigs. Objections were made to the Loyalists finding a refuge at the former place, while the Colony generally not only furnished some recruits for the patriot cause, but two very respectable men, who came from it, attained the rank of colonels in the American service. Emphatically, then, do we again affirm, that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as we have just now seen in the case of Upper Canada, were founded by our errors, and our want of foresight and humanity. And while rebuking the policy of England in her dealings with the Canadians, we

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may also remember, that a wiser course on our own part would have given us fewer rival wheat-growers, less Colonial tonnage, and less competition on the fishing-grounds and at the ports of shipment of our great staples.

The structure of society, then, in three of the four Colonies to which our attention has been directed, was originally like our own. Emigration from the United States and from Great Britain, during the last forty years, has produced great changes. The old order of things is passing away. The Loyalists and the new comers are in hostile array against each other. The former received the places of honor and emolument, at the commencement, because there were no others on whom to confer them. They and their kindred and connections by marriage have kept them, through the monarchical rule of perpetuating official rank in families. The latter have now become numerous, and, having practised leaders, they claim participation in the royal favor, and even the entire dispensation of it. Every effort to reconstruct the Legislative and Executive Councils, and to shorten or change the judicial tenure, which we have mentioned, has been designed to lessen or overturn the power of the Loyalists and their adherents. As highly conservative now as they and their fathers were two generations ago, they insist, that nothing shall be altered; but that, while the Colonial system, as regards commercial and manufacturing rights, has been materially improved for the benefit of the industrious classes, the political influence shall not depart from the "old families." The coalition between them and the "British party," which, in Upper Canada, under Sir Francis Head's administration, threw the Liberals into a minority in his new House of Assembly, was but transient; and we have shown how short-lived were the coalition ministries of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord Falkland, formed of Englishmen, Loyalists, and Liberals. The first was broken up, as appears by Sir Charles's statement, because he would not be ruled by those of the latter party; and we know certainly, that the second was dissolved because his Lordship put a check upon the hitherto supreme authority of Mr. Howe.

In Lower Canada, the inhabitants of British origin suffer wrong. Their government induced them to settle there, upon the royal promise of a "free system of English laws"; and

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it has been recreant to truth and honor in not fulfilling this engagement. There, Englishmen are striving against Frenchmen; but elsewhere, the Saxon race is contending against itself. Thus, in Upper Canada, the Liberals are composed of the three branches into which this race is divided; the disaffected among the Loyalists, the emigrants from the Old World, and persons whose emigration from the United States had no reference to the Revolution. The strength of the party from this latter branch may be seen from the fact, that the Assemby dissolved by Sir Francis Head contained thirteen, or nearly one quarter of the whole number, who were Americans. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there is much the same division; and the head of the Liberals in the former Colony, as we have already mentioned, is of a Loyalist family. As of the opposition, so of the friends of the administration; the Conservatives are made up of the same materials, though in dissimilar proportions. Few lately removed from the republic are Conservatives, while still fewer of those who were driven from among us by the civil war are Liberals; and probably as many of the English, Irish, and Scotch, whose property qualifications give them political privileges, range themselves one side as the other.

In point of number, ability, and influence, the Colonial newspapers ranged on opposite sides may be nearly equal. In Canada, in 1843, the Liberals had about twenty-three, including neutrals, or those which are moderate in opposition; and the Conservatives, nineteen or twenty. Of these, seventeen of the former description, and fourteen that support the crown, are in what was the Upper Colony. In the other two Colonies, there are not more than twenty-four of both parties. With several of these we are intimately acquainted. The tone and temper of some of them show, that they are under the control of gentlemen, while the manners of others might be sensibly improved. The spirit of the Conservative press, with here and there an exception, is unrelentingly hostile towards us and our institutions. Whenever there appears a paragraph of unusual bitterness, it may safely be attributed to the pen of a Loyalist.

What is to be the issue, — reconciliation or separation? "Canada," said King William, "is not to be lost, or given away." That this part, or, indeed, any portion, of British America is to be permanently retained by the crown of

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Great Britain, is a matter of great doubt at this time among the public men of all parties in the mother country. At the usual rate of increase, Canada will contain, in twenty years, a population equal to that of the thirteen Colonies in 1776; and, while they will be less scattered, they will have no servile race to weaken their strength, and no savages to annoy or terrify them. At the time of the revolt of the United States, none were bold enough to hope that the connection with England could be dissolved peaceably. But with regard to the present British possessions in America, such a hope may reasonably be entertained. As far back as 1828, Mr. Huskisson expressed the wish, that, if Canada was not to remain a dependency, the separation might occur "by amicable arrangement." Two years after, Sir Henry Parnell, member of parliament and chairman of the committee of finance, declared, that his countrymen "derived no commercial advantage from the Colonies, which they might not have without them," and that "the discovery of the real sources of wealth has shown the folly of wasting lives and treasure on colonial possessions." Again, it was said in a quarterly journal, which represented the opinions of a numerous party at that period, "We desire any one to point out a single benefit, of any sort whatsoever, derived by us from the possession of Canada and our other Colonies in North America." And the leading organ of the Conservatives admitted, that "there can be no doubt, that the value to Great Britain of various colonies is materially diminished by the altered circumstances of the world." It admitted further, that, "if the duties protecting the Colonial timber trade were abolished, the North American Colonies would become, *pro tanto*, valueless." The duties on Baltic timber have been much diminished, and, if this reasoning be correct, the partial abandonment of the policy of protecting the transatlantic timber interests has produced the consequences predicted. The same work, the London Quarterly Review, in closing its pungent remarks on Lord Durham's Report, used these words: "We can venture to answer, that every uncontradicted assertion of that volume will be made the excuse of future rebellions, — every unquestioned principle will be hereafter perverted into a gospel of treason; and that, if that rank and infectious Report does not receive the high, marked, and energetic discountenance and indignation of the

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imperial crown and parliament, British America is lost." How many of the principles and recommendations of that "rank and infectious Report" have been adopted since 1839 !

There may be two great objections to parting with domains of such questionable value. The first is an unwillingness to lessen British consequence in the eyes of the world. Feelings of national pride are generally praiseworthy, and only blamable when so far indulged as to cause detriment to the public. But the colonial interests of England have become so multiform and conflicting, that legislation for one class of them is almost sure to prove injurious to another, while a general system which shall apply to all alike is impracticable. There is, therefore, continual complaint from some part of her dominions, and it can hardly be lessened, make what laws she may. The charges of intentional oppression of any branch of colonial industry are idle; and yet the ministry is continually vexed with remonstrances and deputations from aggrieved colonists. They can send no governor, however wisely selected, that will please all the colonial parties. If English gentlemen of any description are to be appointed governors of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, who more unobjectionable in every point of view than Sir Charles Metcalfe, Lord Falkland, and Sir William Colebrooke? The excellent Sir John Sherbroke expressed his conviction, many years since, that changes should be made in colonial governors as often as once in three years. So great alterations have occurred since he was a colonial ruler, that, on his principles, a gubernatorial term ought not now to endure six months. There can be no satisfaction to British statesmen of any party in governing remote provinces under circumstances like these. British America cannot cost the national treasury less than two millions of dollars annually, which sum is a direct loss ; and if it be true, as many Englishmen assert, that the protection of the colonial interests costs the residents in the British isles two or three times that sum in the enhanced price of products which could be obtained cheaper elsewhere, we do not know what reason, other than that of retaining unbroken her chain of influence throughout the world, can induce England to continue her rule in America. Whether, under this state of things, and under the burden of a vast debt and a grievous taxation, it

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may be expedient to indulge this noble sentiment of preserving the integrity of dominions once acquired, is a question which her good and great men may be required to decide before another generation shall have passed away. To keep colonies for the mere sake of commercial advantage, or for the sake of vending manufactured goods, is now generally considered an idle thing. Whoever is at all familiar with the documentary history of our revolutionary era has met with bushels of remonstrances and petitions to parliament, all expressing in some form or other an apprehension that home industry would be ruined by a separation of the thirteen Colonies. We will give an instance. The merchants of Bristol were at that time largely concerned in the American trade, and in a most earnest appeal to government to preserve the empire unbroken, they declared, that, were independence acknowledged, their "port would be deserted, and not worth the charge of keeping up." How mistaken! Ten years elapsed, and the same worthy persons had prospered so much, and their trade had become so vast, that they petitioned parliament for leave to enlarge and improve their means of accommodating the ships of the newly born nation! Thus was it generally; and nothing can be more certain, than that Great Britain has gained much more by her trade with the United States since the acknowledgement of their freedom than before. So would it be with the remaining dependencies. How unwise was the policy, that wasted human life and millions of money, and caused enmities and heart-burnings which have not yet ceased, in order to keep us in colonial subjection, when nature's own irresistible laws had brought that subjection to an end! How inexcusable now would be a repetition of the same blunder!

A second reason why a surrender may be objected to is the fear lest these Colonies should unite with us. This unwillingness to do any thing which will add to our power is entirely justifiable. British statesmen are not to be blamed, because they refuse to make their rival great on the ocean, and greater still in the workshop. They are set to guard their own people's welfare, and should be reprobated by all true-hearted men the earth over, if false to this great trust. Our own position is secure, and all the armed ships and armed men of Europe cannot disturb it. The destiny of governing this continent is marked out for the people of the

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United States ; and nothing but our own departure from the rule of right can prevent us from accomplishing this high purpose. Jealousy and ill-will on the part either of parent or children is to be heartily rebuked. We should exult, that "the mother of the Gracchi" is able to rule one hemisphere; and she should be equally willing to allow her children to direct the affairs of the other; and mankind should witness no strife between them.

If the Colonists north and east of us desire to separate from the parent stock and unite themselves to one of its branches, they should not be opposed by force. But we believe, that no such desire is common among them. On this point, we ask leave to tell what we deem to be the truth, and the whole of it; frankness is always best, even though unwelcome words are uttered. We believe, then, that there is now much less desire on the part of the British Colonists to join the American union than existed among them twenty or twenty-five years ago, when the old Navigation Act, and some of the laws of trade, which were resisted so manfully at a former period, were yet on the British statute-book. The removal of these restrictions did a vast deal to quiet those who take no share in the wrangles of the political arena; and events among ourselves — the repudiation of honest debts, the frequent violations of law and order, the prevalence of mobs, and other circumstances — have weaned many from their love of the United States. The hope of freedom, of establishing a government of their own, is perhaps increasing. That such a consummation may happen at the proper time, all may wish without offence. It is to this end that all effort should be directed. These Colonies must become a nation by themselves, or form a part of ours. Laws which man cannot alter have fixed a limit to colonial dependence. But let the Colonists bide their hour. Many a daughter has left the maternal home to lie in another, who would gladly return to the mother's embrace, but for vows thoughtlessly, though indissolubly, made. Those unions are most happy with which all the parties are satisfied; and we are full in the faith, that, before many years elapse, both the head of the family and the elder children will rejoice in the formation of a second American confederacy.

But whatever inclination may exist in the Colonies for

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annexation to the United States, we can see no good which will result from it to either party, if it be speedily and hurriedly carried into effect. In the first place, there is no likelihood that the incongruous materials of which the population of British America is composed, torn and distracted as it now is, and as it must be, for some time to come, could be moulded into one homogeneous mass under the wisest plan that could be adopted; and if we could blend and bind together these discordant elements at will, it were better to defer the experiment, till the toil and trouble of fusing into one the mass already in our seething caldron are ended. Again, no great branch of our industry would be benefited by a closer intimacy, and no good derived from it which we may not enjoy without it. We have no need of additional wheat-lands or pine-forests; and if those on whom the duty devolves will but hold Great Britain to the long understood construction of our fishing rights under the convention of 1818, we shall have no use for more extensive fishing-grounds. Of coal we have abundance; and with regard to gypsum, Nova Scotia has never had any other customer, and until we parted with the vantage-ground, by McLane's arrangement, in 1830, we had always taken that bulky article on terms that permitted the use of our own tonnage. Least of all do we wish for increased competition in maritime enterprises. The Colonists can build vessels much cheaper than we can; and should they be allowed a share of our coasting trade, which now employs nearly two thirds of our whole shipping, the consequences would be disastrous to those portions of our people, whose location hardly leaves them liberty to choose any other employment.

In conclusion, we have a word of advice for one of the States most deeply interested in our relations with the British Colonies. Maine, by the treaty of Washington, has obtained a considerable extent of territory inhabited by people of French origin. We pray her to look to their welfare, and to make them part and parcel of her own citizens without delay. They are but a grain of mustard seed now, it is true; but the French, at the time of the conquest of Canada, were only a small part of the population of British America; and what have they become? Let the frontier State, then, be wise in time. Let her afford them the means of improving their husbandry and reconstructing their dwellings. Let

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them be instructed in the elementary principles of our political system. And, above all, let their children at once be placed under school teachers who are competent and of pure life, who will teach them the Saxon tongue, and all the branches of education common to her best free schools. Else,

> "Nor happiness
> Domestic, mixed of tenderness and care,
> Nor moral excellence, nor social bliss,
> Nor guardian law were theirs; nor various skill
> To turn the furrow, or to guide the tool
> Mechanic."

ART. V.—*Memoir and Correspondence of* MRS. GRANT OF LAGGAN, Author of "Letters from the Mountains," "Memoirs of an American Lady," &c. Edited by her Son, J. P. GRANT, Esq. 3 vols., small 8vo. London. 1844.

WE shall begin a notice rather of Mrs. Grant herself than of the book just published, by speaking of her as she was in the latter period of her life. In 1820, she met with a severe accident, a fall, which produced permanent lameness, so that ever afterwards she was unable to move about without crutches. In 1827, when she was in her seventy-third year, she lost her only surviving daughter, Mary; and of a large family of children, but one son, the editor of her posthumous correspondence, remained. Her life had been marked by a peculiar series of domestic sorrows, and seemed to be closing in sadness and infirmity. If, shortly after this time, a well educated traveller from this country had visited Edinburgh, he would probably have been desirous to take a last look of one of whom he might have heard much to excite his respect and interest. He might naturally have expected to find her weighed down by age and affliction, broken in health and spirits. But, notwithstanding her lameness, this impression would soon have been removed in the course of a single visit. He would have seen a most respectable-looking old lady, with a countenance marked by

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the traces of past suffering, but still cheerful and animated. He would have found her ready to converse, and conversing in a manner particularly unaffected and agreeable. If it had been in her power to render him, as a stranger, any small services, which might very likely have been the case, from her extensive connections with society, no one would have been more ready to think of and to offer them. Her sympathies were unchilled. Through them she was still able to give and receive pleasure. She was an extraordinary woman, a woman of uncommon strength and excellence of character.

The impression which she was likely to make on a stranger is expressed in a passage of a letter to her by one who had visited her shortly before writing it, which is given in the introductory memoir to the volumes under review. We quote it in this place principally because it is not quite correctly printed, and we happen to have a copy of the original before us. "It was delightful," says the writer, "to find you in old age, after such severe trials, so supported and strengthened by the power of God, — not resigned merely, possessing not the calm benevolence of age alone, but all the kinder feelings in their freshness and flower, which, beautiful as they are in youth, become so much more deeply interesting when we know that care and sorrow have had no power to wither them, and that they will soon form part of that crown of glory which fadeth not. If we could have forgotten the blessings which God has for a time taken to himself, and is reserving for you in his keeping, we might have thought of you only as one,

> 'Whose cheerful day benevolence endears,
> Whose night congratulating conscience cheers,
> The general favorite, as the general friend.'"

In what follows we shall give a short account of the life and writings of Mrs. Grant. It may serve to explain in part why she was regarded with strong affection by many friends, and even by friends to whom she was personally unknown; and it may prepare one for reading with more interest the volumes just published. We shall bring together facts which have not before been presented in connection. Besides her published writings, we have some other sources of information, and especially two manuscript collections,

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with which we have been kindly favored, of copies of her letters, addressed to two American friends, only one of which letters appears in the present collection. To the volumes of her correspondence just published a brief memoir is prefixed, partly autobiographical, the conclusion being furnished by the editor. But the events of her earlier life are principally to be gathered from her "Memoirs of an American Lady."

The maiden name of Mrs. Grant was Anne Macvicar. She was born at Glasgow, on the 21st of February, 1755, — the daughter of Duncan Macvicar, whom she describes as "a plain, brave, pious man." Of her mother, who survived till 1811, dying in her daughter's house in Edinburgh in her eighty-fourth year, there are but few notices in her writings; and those few may lead one to think, that she was not in all respects qualified to instruct and open the mind of her child. "I dearly loved idleness," says Mrs. Grant, in her "Memoirs of an American Lady," "and the more, because my mother, who delighted in needle-work, confined me too much to it." This was when she was five years old; and she mentions more than once "the long tasks and close confinement," which she had to endure in her childhood.

Her father was a subaltern in a regiment ordered for America, and sailed for this country in 1757. He was followed by his wife and child the next year. These he established at Claverack, on the Hudson, about thirty-five miles below Albany, at board with a "worthy, wealthy, and most primitive" Dutch family. Here little Anne was taught to read by her mother, and learned to talk Dutch; and learned too, as at a later period she believed, "among the primitive worthies of the settlement, that love of truth and simplicity which she afterwards found a charm against artifice and pretension of every kind." Her only books were a primer and the Bible. She grew in time familiar with the Old Testament; and, in addition to her books, a Scotch sergeant brought her the ballad of "Blind Harry's Wallace." He assisted her to understand its broad Scotch; and the ballad filled her with youthful enthusiasm for Scotland and its hero.

In 1760, when Anne was five years old, her father, who had been stationed at Oswego, rejoined his family. She represents herself as having been strongly impressed by his

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religious character, in comparison with that of other military men with whom she had been acquainted. He did not swear, and he prayed. His family accompanied him, on his return to Oswego, whither he was conducting a company to join the garrison at that place. A great part of the journey was through an uncultivated wilderness. It was full of romantic incident, and presented a succession of picturesque scenery, rendered more striking by the passage of soldiery forcing their slow way through those lonely retreats of nature. The mind of a lively and imaginative child could not but be strongly affected by it; and Mrs. Grant has given a vivid description of it in her "Memoirs of an American Lady." "I am convinced," she says, "that I thought more in that fortnight, that is, acquired more ideas, and took more lasting impressions, than ever I did in the same space of time in my life."

Anne, with her parents, remained the succeeding winter and spring in the fort at Oswego; and no particular incident seems to have diversified what must have been to her a dull life in that remote garrison. But in the summer of 1762, when she was seven years old, her father returned, with his wife and child, to join a body of troops stationed at Albany. Anne left nothing behind her which was near her heart, but a tame partridge and six pigeons.

On the journey back, occurred one of the most eventful incidents of her early life. The party arrived in the evening at a fort on the Mohawk, where Captain Campbell, an old friend of her father, was stationed. The rest of the story must be given in her own words.

"On that evening we returned to Fort Bruerton. I found Captain Campbell delighted with my reading, my memory, and my profound admiration of the friendship betwixt David and Jonathan. We staid the most of the next day. I was much captivated with the copperplates in an edition of Paradise Lost, which, on that account, he had given me to admire. When I was coming away, he said to me, "Keep that book, my dear child; I foretell that the time will come when you will take pleasure in it." Never did a present produce such joy and gratitude. I thought I was dreaming, and looked at it a hundred times, before I could believe any thing so fine was really my own. I tried to read it, and almost cried with vexation when I found I could not understand it. At length I quitted it in de-

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spair; yet always said to myself, I shall be wiser next year."—*Memoirs of an American Lady*, p. 238. American Ed.

This volume was the means of introducing her to the most distinguished woman of the Province of New York, Madam Schuyler; who, though she herself continued a Royalist to the last, was aunt of the eminent and excellent General Schuyler, to whose services in our American Revolution due honor has not yet been paid. At Albany, in a waste-room, where she found a tattered dictionary, Anne, by the aid of this, and with occasional assistance from those who were able and willing to help her through her difficulties, studied out the meaning of her Milton, feeling an absorbing interest in the pursuit, which a student of riper years might well envy. This is the kind of study which benefits the mind. Impressions thus received are ineffaceable. "Time ran on," is her own account, given in after life; "I was eight years old, and quite uneducated, except reading and plain-work. When company came, I was considered as in the way, and sent up to my waste-room; but here lay my whole pleasure; for I had neither companions nor amusement."

Meanwhile, the fame of Madam Schuyler reached her ears, and she was earnestly desirous of seeing her. The opportunity at last arrived. Her father took lodgings in Albany, in a house next to that lady's; and she, being pleased with what she heard of his character, sent an invitation to the family to pass the evening with her. "With no little awe and agitation," says Mrs. Grant, "I came into the presence of Madame." But she was now about to receive a great reward for her faithful study of Milton. She says:

"In the course of the evening, dreams began to be talked of; and every one in turn gave their opinion with regard to that wonderful mode, in which the mind acts independent of the senses, asserting its immaterial nature in a manner the most conclusive. I mused and listened, till at length the spirit of quotation (which very early began to haunt me) moved me to repeat, from Paradise Lost,

> 'When nature rests,
> Oft in her absence mimic fancy wakes,
> To imitate her; but, misjoining shapes,
> Wild work produces oft.'

I sat silent when my bolt was shot; but so did not Madame. Astonished to hear her favorite author quoted readily by so

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mere a child, she attached much more importance to the circumstance than it deserved; so much, indeed, that, long after, she used to repeat it to strangers in my presence, by way of accounting for the great fancy she had taken to me. These partial repetitions of hers fixed this lucky quotation indelibly in my mind." — *Memoirs of an American Lady*, pp. 243, 244.*

The connection thus formed grew stronger, and had an important influence on Anne's happiness and improvement,

* It is remarkable, that of the manner of her introduction to the notice of Madam Schuyler Mrs. Grant has given three different accounts, each inconsistent in its details with both of the others. That quoted above has the appearance of being the most correct. In the autobiographical memoir, prefixed to the posthumous collection of her letters, she says: "Some time after our arrival at Albany, I accompanied my parents one evening to visit Madame Schuyler. . . . . The conversation fell upon dreams and forewarnings. I rarely spoke till spoken to, at any time; but, of a sudden, the spirit moved me to say, that bad angels sometimes whispered dreams into the soul. When asked for my authority, I surprised every one, but myself most of all, by a long quotation from Eve's fatal dream, infusing into her mind the ambition that led to guilt. After this happy quotation I became a great favorite, and Madame Schuyler never failed to tell any one who had read Milton of the origin of her partiality."

But the quotation given above, which Mrs. Grant supposed to have been indelibly fixed in her mind, is not a long quotation from Eve's account of her dream, but is taken from Adam's reply to her; and nothing is said in it about bad angels whispering dreams into the soul.

Again; in her "Letters from the Mountains," (Letter XXI.,) she says: "My father attracted Madame Schuyler's notice by his piety, not very frequently a distinguishing feature in the military character. I will not tire you with the detail of all the little circumstances that gradually acquired me the place in her favor which I ever continued to possess. *She saw me reading Paradise Lost with delighted attention;* she was astonished to see a child take pleasure in such a book, and no less so to observe, that I loved to sit thoughtful by her, and hear the conversations of elderly and grave people."

These three passages strikingly illustrate the fact, that a story may be unquestionably true in all its essential characteristics and bearings, though individuals who have been placed in the best possible circumstances for knowing the truth — eye and ear witnesses — may differ from each other irreconcilably in their details of it. We have here three narratives of a single individual relating to an incident adapted to make a deep impression on her memory, and they are irreconcilable.

The general truth just mentioned has not often been very grossly disregarded, except by those who have objected to the essential truth of the facts recorded in the Gospels on account of the unessential discrepancies in the narrations of them by different Evangelists. But it is a truth which does not appear to have dawned upon the minds of some of the modern German writers of this class. Adopting their style of criticism on the Gospels, and applying it to Mrs. Grant's narratives, we should undoubtedly conclude, that the whole story about Milton was a *myth*, and that Mrs. Schuyler was probably a *mythical* personage; especially as, in immediate connection with one of the narratives quoted, Mrs. Grant expressly says, that she "regarded her as the Minerva of her imagination."

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during the remaining four years which she spent in America. Mrs. Schuyler, who had no children of her own, appears to have become much attached to the intelligent little girl who loved and revered her, and to have found her often her most pleasant companion.

She now obtained access to more books, and among them to Shakspeare, and was not a little mortified when she found herself unable to appreciate his merits. "I thought his plays," she says, "very inferior to Cato, whom Aunt [Madam] Schuyler had taught me to admire." But she persevered in their study.

"'I remember,' she relates, 'reading Hamlet the third or fourth time, in a frosty night, by moonlight, in the back porch. This reiterated perusal was not in consequence of any great pleasure it afforded me; but I was studiously laboring to discover the excellence I thought it must needs contain; yet with more diligence than success.'" — *Memoirs of an American Lady*, p. 288.

Her mind gradually unfolded, and Shakspeare became to her a new source of delight. But her efforts at intellectual improvement were pursued under great disadvantages and discouragements. At one time, a terrible decree went forth, that she was to read no more "idle books or plays." She had, it may be feared, neglected her sewing tasks. She was driven to read books of divinity, probably Calvinistic divinity. But, with a degree of casuistry, in which young people are apt to display their talents on such occasions, she persuaded herself that the spirit of the prohibition did not exclude the reading of the historical plays, because they were true; and in the lapse of time, she evidently regarded the decree itself as having become obsolete.

In 1768, when she was thirteen years old, her father, who had been suffering much in his spirits and health, determined to return with his wife and child to Scotland, and Anne left America never to see it again. Thus ends one epoch of her long, eventful, and changing life, during which she had to do and to suffer much, and was brought into close connection with very different forms of life, and very different classes of mankind. In America she had become acquainted with the primitive manners of the Dutch settlers on the Hudson, she had spent months in a garrisoned fort on Lake Ontario,

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she had been familiar with our aborigines, who still dwelt in the neighbourhood of Albany; she had, in company with her father, visited a great Indian king or chief in his palace or wigwam on the Mohawk, and "went out of the royal presence overawed and delighted"; she was in a few years to become the wife of a Highland clergyman, and to dwell among another portion of mankind scarcely less peculiar, and not less romantic in their aspect, than our native Indians; and thence she was to be removed to associate familiarly with a highly cultivated and intellectual circle, that drew upon itself the gaze of the world.

On her return to Scotland, her father entered into some kind of business at Glasgow, and here she remained, without any particular incident to mark her life, till the commencement of her nineteenth year. She here, however, formed an intimate friendship with two young ladies, sisters, of the name of Ewing, and with another, Henrietta Reid. It continued with each of them till it was dissolved by death. The two former appear in the last collection of her letters under the names of Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Brown. To Miss Reid many of her earlier printed letters are addressed. This lady was soon, but not happily, married. Her husband was unfortunate in business, and other circumstances contributed to her discomfort. "She was," says Mrs. Grant, "a perfect model of patient meekness, always suffering, never complaining, frugal, industrious, and preserving not the equanimity only, but the dignity and delicacy of her mind, through all exigencies." Her family increased rapidly, and she died in giving birth to her eleventh child.*

In 1773, Mrs. Grant's father received the appointment of Barrack-master of Fort Augustus, in Inverness-shire, and removed his family thither. With her journey to that place commences the portion of Mrs. Grant's correspondence which was published under the title of "Letters from the Mountains." The first forty of them contain an account of the incidents of her life, with notices and sketches of friends and acquaintance, during the six years between her leaving Glasgow and her marriage (when twenty-four years old) in May, 1779. Her residence during this period was at Fort Augustus, where she formed a friendship with Miss Ourry,

* MS. Letter.

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afterwards Mrs. Furzer, to whom many of her letters are addressed. On the first evening after her arrival there, she met her future husband, the Rev. James Grant.

The account of the events and concerns of her life during the interval just mentioned, to be read with interest, must be read in her own letters. The society at Fort Augustus was, in general, far from being agreeable; and in her circumstances, there could, for the most part, have been nothing very gratifying. Whatever she effected for her own improvement it would seem that she must have done with little aid from without. Yet there is no repining in her letters. Her cheerfulness and alacrity of mind do not appear to have failed.

Her residence at Fort Augustus was terminated by her marriage. This connection, as regards both the character and the circumstances of her husband, seems to have been peculiarly adapted to make her happy. She was free from the cravings and sufferings of vanity and the love of display. She had no tendency to regard herself as an extraordinary personage, to whom her fellow-creatures were in danger of doing injustice by neglect. In her simplicity and true-heartedness, she was happy to be the wife of an obscure Highland clergyman, without the least thought of ever becoming famous; though pleased, without doubt, to gratify her friends by her talents in writing letters and making verses, and by the vivacity of her conversation. While she was faithfully performing her duties in the secluded parish of Laggan, of which her husband was the pastor, few things could have seemed less probable than that she should become known to the world. But for circumstances that could not be anticipated, she would probably have lived and died in the Highlands, one of those "of whom Fame speaks not," but

> "gentle hearts rejoice
> Around their steps, — till silently they die."

In truth, the fame of Mrs. Grant, if it may be so called, was in great part only an expression of esteem for those admirable qualities of character, exercised in domestic and private life, which her vicissitudes and sufferings were accidentally the means of bringing into public view.

Somewhat more than two years after her marriage, she wrote to her friend, Miss Ewing, describing her situation. The letter is dated at Fort Augustus, where she was on a visit. She says:

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"You will think I am talking very solemnly about travelling the twenty-five miles between here and Laggan; for I do not know that ever I told you how peculiarly we are situated with regard to each other. This district is divided from ours by an immense mountain called *Corryarrick*. That barrier is impassable in the depth of winter, as the top of it is above the region of clouds; and the sudden descent on the other side peculiarly dangerous, not only from deep snows concealing the unbeaten track of the road, but from whirlwinds and eddies that drive the snow into heaps; besides an evil spirit which the country people devoutly believe to have dwelt there time out of mind.

"I was rather urgent in requesting permission to make this visit, because my little daughter is here, who loves me and smiles on me irresistibly, and whom I must needs leave as a substitute for myself; and then I resolved to enjoy the last fading gleams of autumn here, and embrace my dear parents before I should be separated from them all winter by this dreadful barrier. The society is varied by some new characters; not military ones, but just such harmless, good-humored people as one takes a pleasure in pleasing, and leaves without a pang. My mate has chosen this time to visit his Strathspey friends. I am beginning to be on the spur homeward; snow is now beginning to fall; but though I should 'ride on clouds and skies,' I must get home immediately.

"Now I will give you a sketch of our situation, and you will say 't is time. After crossing this awful mountain, we travel eastward through twelve miles of bleak, inhospitable country, inhabited only by moor-fowl, and adorned with here and there a booth, erected for a temporary shelter to shepherds, who pass the summer with their flocks in these lonely regions. On leaving this waste, you enter a vale six miles in length, and half a mile broad, which wants nothing but wood to be beautiful; it has indeed some copses, or what the Scottish bards call shaws. This vale consists entirely of rich meadow and arable lands, and has the clear and rapid Spey running through the middle of it. About the centre of this vale, at the foot of a mountain which screens it from the north wind, stands our humble dwelling." — *Letters from the Mountains*, Vol. I., pp. 222 – 224.

This residence she elsewhere describes as a "comfortable cottage, consisting of four rooms, light closets, and a nursery and kitchen built out by way of addition."

"You will wonder," she continues, "we have not the good house to which the pastor's office entitles him. That should be

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built on the glebe, and can be nowhere else, and this glebe is a nook which none but a hermit would inhabit. Then we are so far from market, that, unless the ravens were commissioned to feed us, we could not do without a farm; which affording us every necessary of life, we send to Inverness (only fifty miles off) for elegances and superfluities; elegant sugar, and superfluous tea, for instance. The last incumbent preferred getting this farm at an easy rate and living in a cottage of his own building, to a more elegant mansion without that advantage; and we have made the same sacrifice of vanity to convenience. We have a great extent of moor and hill grazing, where they say we may feed some hundreds of sheep, a very suitable flock for a person who ought to be much detached from secular cares, having a shepherd kept purposely to attend them. They require even in winter no food or shelter, but what the hills afford. Our neighbours abound in courtesy and civility, and many of them, having been abroad in the army, are sufficiently intelligent." — *Letters from the Mountains*, Vol. I., pp. 224, 225.

During her married life, her principal sufferings seem to have arisen from that severe calamity which pursued her through her after years, the sickness and death of her children. But she was about to meet with a still heavier loss. The following simple and affecting narrative of her afflictions is from her autobiographical memoir. A gentleman, Mr. Mackintosh of Dunchattan, who was uncle by marriage to Sir John Moore,

"procured a commission in the army for our eldest son, John Lauchlan, then a mere boy, but a most amiable and promising one: he died in Glasgow, of consumption, in his sixteenth year. This was a great blow, and bore heavy on his father, whose health had been always very precarious. I had mourned over three children, who died previously, in early infancy. The birth of my youngest child, a fortnight after the death of his brother, carried off my thoughts, in some degree, from this affliction. The daily decline of Mr. Grant's health, though I was unwilling to see it, now forced itself on my attention. He outlived his son eighteen months. — I cannot go through details ever painful to memory: suffice it that he was removed in 1801, after an attack of inflammation of three days' continuance; and I was thus left with eight children, not free from debt, yet owing less than might be expected, considering the size of our family, and the decent hospitality, which was kept up in a manner that, on looking back, astonishes even myself, as it did others at the time.

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I was too much engrossed with my irreparable loss on the one hand, and too much accustomed to a firm reliance on the fatherly care of Him who will not abandon the children of a righteous man, on the other, to have any fears for the support of so many helpless creatures. I felt a confidence on their account that to many might appear romantic and extravagant." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 13, 14.

From this time till the close of her long days, Mrs. Grant continued to be *a traveller between life and death.* She had said of herself, at a much earlier period, in a letter to her friend, Miss Ourry, —

"My meditations hover so constantly about the confines of the world unknown, where my aching eyes are continually exploring the departing footsteps of those who still live in my remembrance, that I now see this world and all its vanities, as the Apostle says we do futurity, 'through a glass, darkly.' These frequent excursions of the mind into the trackless ocean of vast eternity contribute not a little to throw a dim shade over every thing that dazzles and attracts in this valley of vision." — *Letters from the Mountains*, Vol. II., p. 32.

At her husband's death, she was left in circumstances above absolute want. "But my friends," she says, "were more apprehensive of pecuniary distress for me than I was for myself." Some of them, during her married life, had urged her to write for the booksellers; but for this she had had neither inclination nor leisure. Her family duties and interests pressed too much upon her thoughts and her time to allow her to engage in mere literary labor. It was during the nights of winter or in the dawn of summer mornings, that she found time to write those letters to the friends of her early days, that first made her advantageously known to the world. At the same time she distrusted her abilities for the proposed task. Of her powers, no one, from first to last, seems to have formed a more correct estimate than herself. Her mind was too sound, and she was too free from vanity, to be deluded by the partiality of those who loved her while yet generally unknown, or by the celebrity which she afterwards obtained.

But it was her lot to become an authoress. "I had early," she says, "discovered a faculty of rhyming, scarcely worthy to be dignified with the name of poetry, but easy

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and fluent." A considerable number of her short poems had been dispersed among her friends, of which she had retained no copy. These they now collected and determined to publish by subscription. She was induced to revise and add to them. Her friends were numerous and warmly attached to her. Her husband's memory was respected, and her circumstances, wherever made known, excited interest. The Duchess of Gordon, who resided during summer at a seat near Laggan, warmly patronized the proposal; and it was uncommonly successful. Three thousand copies of the volume were subscribed for. It appeared in 1803.

In June of the same year, she was deprived of her father, just as she had sold off her farm stock and all her property at Laggan, for the purpose of removing nearer to her parents, who then lived at Glasgow. This event changed her plans. She took a sorrowful departure from Laggan toward the end of that month, and removed to Woodend, a beautiful, but sequestered spot in the neighbourhood of Stirling. Besides her own large family, including her mother, she had with her three children from the West Indies, who were placed under her care. Her pecuniary means were enlarged by the compensation which she received for this charge;* and they continued to be so from a similar source during the greater part of her remaining life. Many young ladies were successively intrusted to her care as inmates of her family; and the interest which she felt in them, and the gratitude and affection which they retained for her, contributed much to her happiness. But the number at any one time was not great. She speaks in one of her letters of being able to fill a large house, if she received under her tuition all who applied for it. "But," she adds, "I see daily more reason to restrict the number of my pupils to three or four." The great benefit which Mrs. Grant was expected to afford her pupils was, not so much literary instruction, as her influence in forming their minds and manners, and, at a later period, when she removed to Edinburgh, an introduction into the society which frequented her house.

At Woodend, Mrs. Grant appears to have been removed into an uncongenial soil. She had lost him who was dearest

* MS. Letter.

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to her ; she missed greatly the warm feelings of her former friends, and the affections of the humble cottagers at Laggan. Wide in her own sympathies, she was greatly dependent for her happiness on the sympathy of others, on friendship, and on that social intercourse which is not a mere reciprocation of civilities, but in which heart speaks to heart and mind mingles with mind. "I think," she says in one of her letters after her removal, "I could not desire to live a day longer than while my heart was warmed by an affectionate intercourse with those I love." And of this intercourse, out of her own family, she enjoyed but little at Woodend. One lady, however, formed an exception to the general character of the society about her. "Of Lady Stewart," she says, "my kind departed friend, I must ever think with the gratitude I owed to her, and with the esteem which every one paid to her merits. She was my next, my kindest, I might well say my only kind neighbour at Woodend. By others in the vicinity I was little known and less understood." In 1806, she removed to Stirling.

The same year, a little before her removal, her second work, the "Letters from the Mountains," appeared. The circumstances which led to its publication were particularly affecting. As they are referred to in her Memoir, and stated, though briefly, in her posthumous correspondence, we do not hesitate to give them a little more in detail from a long narrative contained in an unpublished letter lying before us.

The correspondence forming the "Letters from the Mountains" had been preserved and collected by her friends; and its publication was strongly urged upon her by them, as a means of pecuniary benefit. The letters were put into her hands, and she finally undertook to revise and prepare them for the press; not with the thought of publishing them during her lifetime, from which she shrunk with great reluctance, but in the hope that they might be of benefit to her children, if she should be taken from them. "While," she says, "I was thus retracing the past, and tasting the sweets and bitters of recollection, the thunder burst over my head, which for a time blasted all my remains of comfort."

Her eldest surviving son, Duncan, who, after making all allowance for the partiality of a mother's praise, appears to have been an uncommonly promising youth, had determined, contrary to her inclination, to enter the army. He was

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then at the age of sixteen, pursuing his military studies at Marlow; and she had just received the gratifying intelligence, that he had made such proficiency, that in ten days he would be removed as a cadet to Woolwich.

"I perceived," she says, "just about that time, a degree of smothered anguish in the countenance of my daughter, that surprised me; but thought that she had, perhaps, in looking over the letters, seen something that had made her memory bleed afresh with recollected sorrows, and I wished to dissipate them as best I could. I was under engagements to dine at Stirling with an old military friend of my father's, and had business also of some kind to transact. Mary pleaded a headache, and would not accompany me. On which, I took her sisters with me, and returned in the evening pensive enough. No one came to meet me, or seemed glad of my return. Mary, my eldest, followed me into my own room, and told me to collect all my courage and dependence on Divine Providence, and expect the worst I could possibly hear. 'To whom does it relate?' 'To Duncan.' 'What has he done?' 'Covered us with disgrace and sorrow such as we never knew.' It rushed into my mind that he could never *live* in ignominy, and I sunk on the ground in agony from an idea too horrid to express. 'Has the immortal spirit yielded to despair? Is the door of repentance open?' 'Yes, but he is disgraced.' I rose on my knees to thank God that he had not abandoned him beyond hope. I then read a letter, which Mary had concealed till my visit and business were over, well knowing how incapable I should be, after hearing it, of doing any thing. I found that my son had been engaged in a mutiny that broke out among the youths at Marlow, occasioned by overstrained severity of discipline. But how my son should be involved seemed inexplicable, considering his steady, manly character, and his approaching removal, which made it to him a matter of indifference how Marlow was governed. In the extreme anguish of my spirit, I sat down and wrote a few lines of earnest expostulation to the Duke of York; taking the guilt of the culprit for granted, yet pleading the ruin and desolation in which his final destiny would involve a family, whose honor, stained in him, was their chief earthly possession. That unhappy and culpable, yet truly humane, character returned me, of whom he knew nothing but my distress, an answer by the very next post, saying, that even his compassion could not avail, as the fatal sentence was past, and none but his Majesty (then greatly indisposed) could interfere with the sentence of a court martial; but that, if I had another son duly qualified, he would recommend

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him to a commission in the line. In the mean time my unhappy son, with six others, was sentenced to be cashiered and rendered incapable of serving his Majesty."

She felt this as an indelible stigma. She dreaded that her son would be driven to desperation. But he was taken home by a lady (the daughter of Mrs. Dunlop, the friend of Burns) to her house in London, and soothed by pity and kindness. He was thus prevented from taking shelter on board a man-of-war, as he first intended.

"Meantime, his patron, the excellent and well known Mr. Charles Grant, Chairman at the India House, went to Marlow to examine into the merits of the cause. He found the concurring testimony of all concerned to his previous good behaviour, and attention both to duty and study. The night the riot arose he was at his post of sentinel, and did not join the rioters. Those detected in arms were imprisoned; and two days after, as Duncan walked the parade, the colonel who presided over the college asked him, 'where he was that night'; he said, 'On his post.' He then asked, if he 'knew any thing previously of this design, or how many were embarked in it besides those detected.' He said he knew well of their intention, and how many were embarked in it, and that there were a great number. On this, the colonel insisted on his naming them. This, Duncan said, was impossible. They had consulted him on the proposed enterprise, he had given them his honor not to betray them, but advised them to desist, and told them he had no interest in the affair, being immediately to remove to Woolwich. On hearing all this, the colonel was extremely incensed at his obstinacy in keeping the secret, and brought him to trial, when he was convicted, on an article of war which orders a sentinel in such a case to fire, because he had not fired at his companions on that fatal night when they did not answer."

When she found that her son's conduct was not accounted morally dishonorable, Mrs. Grant was greatly relieved. But she was much at a loss what to do. Her friend, Mrs. Furzer, who was residing at Richmond, urged her to come to London, in order that she might there settle her son's future destination. On this she determined; and accordingly, in the middle of winter, took passage for that place. She went by sea, from motives of frugality.

In London, Mrs. Grant succeeded in making the most desirable arrangement for her son, which could then be effected.

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He was appointed a cadet in the East India Company's service. His course was honorable; he rose rapidly in his profession; and gave joy and hope to his mother. But the objects of her affection were continually taken from her. He died at Surat, in 1814.*

The expenses attendant on this business, and especially on her son's equipment for India, pressed heavily on Mrs. Grant. "It encroached," she says, "on the very little I had reserved for my daughters." In this exigency, to avoid diminishing what she "considered as the family stock," she yielded to the solicitations of her friends, and reluctantly determined to make trial of the publication of her letters.

She consequently obtained an introduction to Messrs. Longman & Co. "I went to them," she says, "with no enviable feelings, being fully as much ashamed of my shabby manuscript as Falstaff was of his ragged recruits." Mr. Longman, however, received her graciously, and in a few days she was informed that the letters would do very well for publication. This was in the spring of 1805. She returned to Scotland, and heard nothing more of her book till the spring of the following year. She began to despair of its ever being published. But at last she received a letter informing her that it was printed, and only needed a preface. The preface was written and despatched in half an hour. The "Letters from the Mountains" appeared; and "no person, I believe," says Mrs. Grant, "was so astonished at their success as myself." They rapidly passed through several editions. Her booksellers were liberal; and, to use her own words, "many persons of distinguished worth interested themselves in me, and sought my acquaintance, in consequence of perusing those letters." As one example of the strong interest which they excited, it may be mentioned that a present of three hundred pounds was sent to

* It may afford a further illustration of the fact adverted to in a preceding note, to observe, that, in the narrative quoted above, Mrs. Grant says that her son was sentenced on the ground, that, being a sentinel, the night of the mutiny, he did not fire on his companions; while in a letter to Mr. Hatsell (Memoirs and Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 71) she gives this account: "He was made the unfortunate depositary of a foolish and desperate combination. . . . . He took no active part; but, on being examined, refused to give up the names of the rest; accounting such disclosure dishonorable. His size and manly appearance led the Court to consider him a ringleader; and as such, he was (I am told, unjustly) sentenced."

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her by three merchants of London, (Mr. Angerstein, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Bonar,) with whom she appears to have had no previous acquaintance. When the profits of her work began to come in, which, for the second edition, amounted to another three hundred pounds, she says, "I calculate and wonder at my own wealth."

On the last day of the year in which they appeared, she thus wrote to her old friend, Mrs. Smith:

"Do not in the least fear for my head, in consequence of the success of the Letters. In the first place, the only kind of pride I ever cherished was like those weeds which grow in a poor soil, and disappear when it is ameliorated. It served no other purpose but to fence in a kind of humble dignity. I valued myself just as highly when I was treated by many insignificant people with contemptuous indifference, as now that it is the fashion of the hour for people, every way my superiors, to overrate me. I very well know, too, that the peculiarity of the subject, the lively, because true, delineation of scenes to which the world, particularly the English world, is a stranger, has excited attention fully more than the merits of the performance. Johnson, who all along hated and despised pastorals, — being a kind of writing from which learning, philosophy, and cookery were equally excluded, and in which people were neither witty nor wise, sententious nor categorical, — he, I say, used to excuse his contempt for this way of writing, because, he said, we should never see a pastoral written by a real shepherd; and modes of life drawn from conjecture did not suit his rectitude of taste. But here is a pastoral written by a real shepherd; here are simple manners and rural life, — humble, though not mean, — simple, though not vulgar, — truly drawn. Truth of sentiment is a hidden, but powerful charm; the heart and imagination are detained by it, as the reasoning faculties are gratified by moral truth or mathematical demonstration. I am getting into too deep water now." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 89, 90.

There is no vanity in this; and she seems never to have been betrayed into any exhibition of it by the great success of her work.

Gratified she must have been; but a very different scene was about to open upon her. Her life was one of great vicissitude. In the spring after the letter was written from which we have just quoted, she was summoned to London to attend the death-bed of her daughter Charlotte, whom she

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lost at the age of seventeen. She returned to Scotland to find her second daughter, Catharine, dangerously ill; and after an interval of three months, this young lady followed her sister, dying in her twenty-fifth year.

"I had lost children before," says Mrs. Grant, "but I was not then their *only* parent." She thus wrote to her friend, Mrs. Hook:

"What is there valued and admired, what is there truly valuable or admirable, that I have not lost! — youth, beauty, innocence, understanding, affection, such as few hearts are capable of conceiving, of which I was the first and darling object. To be thus beloved by creatures so lovely and so excellent, — this, indeed, is a privation. But they love me still; I am conscious that they do." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 126.

But though Mrs. Grant felt deeply and truly, and kept sacred in her heart the memory of those she loved, there was, happily for herself and for others, an extraordinary elasticity and resilience in her spirits. Proofs of this soon begin to show themselves in her letters; and about a month after the death of her daughter Catharine, it appears from a letter full of affectionate remembrances of her, that she was about to commence writing her "Memoirs of an American Lady." It was published the next year, 1808.

The American lady was Mrs. Schuyler, the friend of her youth. But Mrs. Grant's recollections of her do not constitute the greater part of the work. It consists, besides these, of her own autobiography till the time of her leaving America; of sketches of the history of New York; of accounts of the manners of the descendants of the Dutch settlers at Albany and in its neighbourhood; of anecdotes of the Indians; and of stories respecting private individuals. What did not fall within her personal experience as a child, she appears to have learned from the oral narratives and conversation of Mrs. Schuyler and other individuals, without correction from books, or from any subsequent inquiry. On the basis of her very youthful recollections, affected, without doubt, by the imaginations and prejudices of after years, she constructed this work at the age of fifty-two. It is not without interest, as may appear from the references which we have made to it; but no one will suppose that it can make

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much pretension to accuracy; though, even in this respect, it might not be quite fair to judge of it from the first sentence of the first chapter: "It is well known, that *the province of New York*, anciently called Munhattoes by the Indians," (Mrs. Grant refers to the Indian name of the island on which the city of New York now stands,) "was originally settled by a Dutch colony, which came from Holland, *I think, in the time of Charles the Second.*" Mrs. Grant says of herself in one of her earlier letters, "I am a wretched narrator, and miserable chronologer; I write fluently from my heart; but very lamely from my memory." We cannot assent to the first assertion, "I am a wretched narrator," so far as regards events in which she was personally interested.

In the year following the publication of these Memoirs, (1809,) an event occurred highly gratifying to Mrs. Grant. A gentleman, now one of the most honored clergymen of our country, who had then just completed his theological studies at Edinburgh, brought, on his return home, a copy of her "Letters from the Mountains." It passed into the hands of his sister, whose memory, after a lapse of more than thirty years, is still cherished with affectionate veneration by her surviving friends. She possessed a kindred mind to Mrs. Grant's, and was strongly interested in her book and in her fortunes. She communicated her interest to a circle of her friends. The book, through their exertions, was republished by subscription, at a time when the republication of a foreign work in this country was far less common than at present; and two hundred pounds were remitted to her as the proceeds. A correspondence immediately commenced between the lady, Miss Lowell, who was the principal agent in this good work, and Mrs. Grant, which continued during a short interval of not two years which intervened before Miss Lowell's death.

It may be easily imagined how much Mrs. Grant, with her warm and grateful feelings, was affected by this unexpected act of kindness, and this expression of sympathy from a country, then much more separated from England than it is at present. The impression that it made on her partly appears from the fact, that in a very short autobiographical notice which she communicated to a publication in England, consisting, with the exception of a single line, of only two

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paragraphs, one of these paragraphs is devoted to the mention of it. She says:

"Among the many singular events, by which a quiet, secluded life has been diversified, one of the most remarkable was the benevolence and warmth of friendship, which prompted an American lady, of distinguished worth and talents, to make a very uncommon exertion in behalf of the subject of this Memoir. Meeting accidentally with the "Letters from the Mountains," this ardent and superior mind, not satisfied with warm approbation, and the elegant expression of these feelings to the author, actually, with the assistance of some friends, reprinted the work at Boston, (New England,) and remitted the profits to the author. This lady, now beyond the reach of human praise, closed an exemplary life amidst her fondly attached friends and relations in 1811. She was daughter to the late eminent Judge Lowell, of New England." *

In a letter to a lady, who, after the death of Miss Lowell, became the medium of communication between Mrs. Grant and her American friends, she says: "The attraction which the pictures of my mind had for that pure spirit now released, I consider as the pride and honor of my life. Of the many consolations which it pleased the Divine Goodness to pour into my cup of affliction I felt none so sensibly."

Her "Memoirs of an American Lady" came to a second edition in London in 1809, and was reprinted the same year by a bookseller at New York, in consequence, doubtless, of the popularity of her "Letters from the Mountains." Near the end of this book, there are two chapters of "General Reflections," in which, and in other passages, Mrs. Grant gives a most disastrous picture of the moral, intellectual, and social state of this country. This led to a remonstrance in a letter from her friend, Miss Lowell. Nothing could be written more becoming a lady. Though decided in its tone, it is most gentle and kind. How Mrs. Grant was affected by it may appear from some passages in her reply. She begins her letter thus; — we omit some of the stronger expressions of regret:

"How shall I address, with language expressive of my feelings, a person, who fills my whole heart with mingled sensations of respect and gratitude, sympathy, tenderness, and remorse, to which no language could do justice? This day I received that letter which I shall ever preserve with veneration, as a hallowed

* The British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits, No. XX., 1815.

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relic of an unequalled mind. This night I will not sleep till I disburden my overcharged heart by acknowledging it. How cruel, dear Madam, is your candor, how wounding your mildness! . . . . . Had you urged on me the presumption of obtruding on the public as a picture of what *is* a confused and imperfect recollection of what *was*, aggravated by the only accounts I have for many years heard from that country, from exasperated and heart-broken emigrants, or half-pay officers, who had only seen it burning and bleeding with the flames and wounds of civil discord; had you said all that severe truth could suggest on this, to me, most painful subject, I might have been tempted to say much in my own vindication. Still I must say that I did not advance any thing but what I was convinced at the time was true, though I omitted acquiring that information, which I ought sedulously to have sought after, before I had committed myself or risked giving wrong impressions to others."

The connection between Miss Lowell and Mrs. Grant extended to other members of the family of the former lady. Her nephew, Mr. John Lowell, Jr., so well known for the splendid bequest by which he founded the Lowell Lectures in Boston, resided, when a youth, for some years, in Edinburgh with his parents. "He retained to the last an affectionate recollection of the friendships formed by him at this early period; and during his travels in the East, toward the close of his life, he gave the most substantial and munificent proofs of the strength of the attachments of his childhood."* During his residence in Edinburgh, he was for a time in Mrs. Grant's family. "He always," to use the words of a near relative, "entertained for her the deepest veneration and affection, and left her by his will a legacy of five thousand dollars."†

* "Memoir of John Lowell, Jr.," by Mr. Everett.

† We quote these words from a note, with which we were favored in answer to an inquiry on the subject. Circumstances, which have come to our knowledge since this sheet was in print, render it proper to mention, that no communications respecting Miss Lowell's friendship for Mrs Grant have been furnished us by her surviving relatives. Their very great delicacy has, as we have learned, prevented any more explicit notice of the subject, than what appears, from being given in Mrs. Grant's posthumous "Memoir and Correspondence." But we have related nothing which is not well known to many persons in the society about us; or which, with a very slight clew, may not be gathered from Mrs. Grant's published writings. The copies of Mrs. Grant's letters to Miss Lowell were obligingly put into our hands by a friend, not a relative, of the latter, without any restriction upon such use as we have made of them; so also were copies of Miss Lowell's letters to Mrs. Grant. All that we have related, or that could be re-

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In 1810, Mrs. Grant removed to Edinburgh, which continued to be her residence during the remainder of her life. In 1811, she published her "Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, with Translations from the Gaelic." The book is full of enthusiasm for the character of the Highlanders, among whom she had so long resided; and this enthusiasm was evidently a principal motive to its composition. In her last letter to Miss Lowell, (not received till after that lady's death,) she speaks, in reference to this intended publication, of the great reluctance which she had always felt to undergo the ordeal of the press. "I shall submit to it once more," she adds, "because I have some things to tell the public that few know so well as myself, because few have attended to them so much." "The subject," she writes in a letter to Miss C. M. Fanshawe, "affords much latitude for excursion, which you may believe I have not used sparingly."

The book contains facts worth preservation, and narratives well told, which are entertaining and curious. But the general speculations concerning the character of the Highlanders are not of equal value. The liberty of excursion has been used freely, and the work is not well digested. The author says, in one of a series of letters annexed to it: "The great desideratum with me, in thought, word, and deed, is method." Her talents, indeed, did not lie in writing for the public. For this she wanted literary training; she wanted the requisite habits of mind, and especially the power of regarding herself as an individual personally unknown, addressing readers personally unknown to herself. Her strong good sense, her correct taste, her warm and disinterested feelings, her imagination, and her power of describing clearly and truly scenes and characters, appear to advantage only when she is pouring out her mind to her private friends. The public was probably never more out of the view of one who was so much before it. Though, if she had thought at all on the subject, she must have known that the letters which form the collection just published might very probably appear after her death, they exhibit no traces of such a thought having dwelt upon her mind. She says, in a very long unpublished letter now lying before us: "I see what I

lated, is highly honorable to both parties; and perhaps Miss Lowell's name should no longer be considered by any of her friends as too sacred for the praise of a stranger.

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have written is all marked with the vehemence of strong emotion, carrying me rapidly along and producing endless repetition and inaccuracy. If I had time I would write it over again; but that is impossible; therefore you must spell and guess, and be very indulgent." That her literary education was irregular and defective may appear from what has been already mentioned. In a letter to Miss C. M. Fanshawe, (dated 1st April, 1809,) she says:

"I am delighted with the pleasantry of your observations upon my defective orthography, — which can be the less excused, as it is a thing to be learned merely by a common degree of observation. But do you know that the first unshackled letter of my very own diction that I wrote in my life was that which begins the series of my printed correspondence; — this I have beside me, written in the most childish and unformed hand imaginable. I was taught to write, when a girl, in America, by a soldier in my father's regiment, who began life in the character of a gentleman, but, being an incorrigible sot, retained nothing but a fine hand to distinguish him from his fellows when he was chosen my teacher; — this tutor of mine visited the black hole so often, that I got copies, — perhaps twenty, — at long intervals; when he was removed into another regiment. I was thus deprived of all instruction of this and of almost every other kind; but then it was intended to send me to a convent in Canada, where officers' daughters got some sort of superficial education. This was deferred from year to year, and then dropped, because we thought of coming home, where I was to learn every thing; but, by that time, I was grown very tall, very awkward, and so sensitive that a look disconcerted me, and I went to no school except that where dancing was taught, which I very soon left from the same miserable conscious awkwardness." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I. pp. 210, 211.

Her letters, in the posthumous collection of them, may not seem fully to justify the remarks which have been made. But these letters have been, as we doubt not, subjected to that revision, which it is the duty of an editor to apply to the posthumous works of a friend. They have been improved by omissions and condensation. We infer this not merely from the difference in the mode of writing observable between them and her former printed works, but likewise from a comparison of them with the series of unpublished letters lying before us, extending from 1809 to 1821; and more particularly from comparing one which is published

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(To a Friend in America, May 22, 1816) with a manuscript copy of it. While, therefore, Mrs. Grant's posthumous letters give, as there can be no question, a faithful view of her intellect and heart, they do not exactly represent her style of writing.

At Edinburgh, Mrs. Grant was early associated with that brilliant literary society which then cast its splendor over the city. "Mr. Henry Mackenzie," she says, "is one of our nearest neighbours." "Walter Scott and the formidable Jeffrey have both called on me, not by any means as a scribbling female, but on account of links formed by mutual friends." Her "Letters from the Mountains" had to overcome the disadvantage, that she introduced us to persons in whom we had before felt no interest, and with whom she often made us but very imperfectly acquainted. The last collection of her letters is full of descriptions, anecdotes, and passages, relating to individuals of whom every one has heard; and, in bringing them before us, she writes with great vivacity, and evident marks of truth. Her good sense and her right and kind feelings are everywhere apparent.

In a letter written very shortly after fixing her residence in Edinburgh, she says:

"Conversation in this Northern Athens is easy, animated, and, indeed, full of spirit and intelligence. Yet, though the feast of reason abounds, there is not so much of the flow of soul. . . . . There are syllogisms and epigrams, and now and then pointed and brilliant sentences, and observations and reflections both acute and profound, but neither the heart nor imagination are much concerned. In those enlightened circles, there is much intelligence, and a degree of metaphysical subtilty in argument and disquisition, but little playfulness and less heart. People are too well bred, too well informed, and too well amused by the passing scene, to seek those resources in their imaginations, or to be hurried by those feelings, which occupy and delight the simple children of nature. By simplicity I do not mean ignorance, but being unspotted by the world. At the same time, I am greatly amused by these parties, and find them incomparably superior to the dull unvaried gossip of a country town; for here there is no detraction, and little personality." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I. pp. 256, 257.

The assertion may seem strange, but we cannot help doubting whether such highly intellectual society is well adapted to discipline the higher powers of intellect, to strengthen the noblest principles, or to call forth the more

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generous affections. When the ambition to excel in such society takes strong hold of the mind, every thing is referred to a worldly standard. The lover of display in conversation must accommodate himself to the comprehensions and tastes of his audience. The laugh at generous sentiment, or natural feeling, or disinterested endeavour, will often be better relished than sympathy with it. A sarcasm is more piquant than approbation. All those feelings that relate to the higher interests of man, all those virtues which the world considers as humble, though God does not, all the more difficult virtues, that have their origin in the hard sufferings of life, all those high efforts in the cause of humanity, which demand sacrifices from him who would serve his fellow-men, or may cause him to exhort others to make sacrifices, are to be kept out of view, as affording no topics of entertainment. The mention of them with any earnest and heart-felt praise would be almost as strange as if it occurred in the correspondence of Horace Walpole. Truth is far more likely to be sacrificed to wit, or to be lost sight of in the ardor of debate, than to secure a victory by the gladiatorial skill of accomplished conversers. A side may be taken, and maintained with the subtilty and eloquence of an accomplished advocate; but a subject will hardly be discussed with the wisdom of a philosopher. That conversational intercourse is, we imagine, more agreeable to an unperverted taste, and more improving, in which there is greater repose; in which more of the natural character appears, and thoughts and feelings flow forth unstudied and without effort; which rises to high or falls to humble subjects, as occasion varies; which takes a wider view of the realities of life, and keeps our sympathies alive to all that should interest them; and in which truth is sought for in companionship, and not in a combat with others. In such society as she has described, it was scarcely to be expected that Mrs. Grant's worth, and especially her intellectual powers, should be estimated at their true value. It somewhat resembled "the broad unnatural light" into which Thalaba entered,

> "That made the rose's blush of beauty pale,
> And dimmed the rich geranium's purple blaze";

and the wild flowers, however beautiful, which alone Mrs. Grant had yet collected and bound together, were not likely to attract particular notice and praise.

Yet the excellence of her character, and her widely

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spread celebrity, secured her respect and kindness. Jeffrey became her friend; and, in 1811, published a review of her writings. She relates in one of her letters, that, before its publication, he put it into her hands, expressing an opinion that he could "depend on her magnanimity"; and saying, that, as a reviewer, he considered himself "as entering the temple of truth and bound to say what he thought." The review is considerate, and was meant to be obliging; but at the same time contains passages that would have given offence to one whose self-love was very sensitive. It produced, however, no ill-will on the part of Mrs. Grant. She tells her correspondent, in the letter in which it is mentioned, that Mr. Jeffrey, being about to journey into the Highlands, came to ask her for letters to her Highland friends. The only little trait of sub-acid feeling in Mrs. Grant breaks out on the occasion of this journey, in one of those touches of wit which are common in her letters: "He came back perfectly delighted. I expected that, from the mere habit of carping, he would have criticized the mountains unmercifully."

There is not much to object to the fairness of Jeffrey's criticism, so far as it goes; but perhaps there is some ground to complain of omission. It may illustrate the remarks before made in reference to the literary society of Edinburgh, that the reviewer does not bring into view what seems to us the peculiar characteristic of the "Letters from the Mountains," on which their essential value depends. Whatever may be their literary deficiencies, they are a true picture of life, as life is to all but the highest and lowest classes in such an artificial state of society as exists in England. They exhibit its joys, its sorrows, its changes, and its diversities of character,—the realities, and not the outward show, of man's being in this world,—with such a constant, unaffected expression of the correct feelings and principles of the writer, as may make them, especially to the young, a very interesting and instructive moral lesson. We do not know any other series of letters of a similar kind. After a quotation from one of her letters, the review concludes thus:

"This, to be sure, is not exactly the style of Madame du Deffand; and yet there are very many people who will like it quite as well. And even those who would be most scandalized at the comparison must confess, that it indicates a far loftier, a far purer, and a far happier character, than that of the witty lady with whose it may be contrasted."—*Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XVIII., p. 510.

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A book which exhibits such a character must be of more than common value; and should any one prefer the letters of Madame du Deffand to those of Mrs. Grant, he might lay himself open to the suspicion of resembling in his taste the French lady who did not like innocent pleasures. But even in those qualities of mind by which Madame du Deffand was distinguished, we doubt whether Mrs. Grant was naturally her inferior. We may find many things in her letters as quaintly and as wisely said as the following, of which we will venture to alter the construction a little, without any change of the essential expression. She is exhorting a young female friend to serious reflection.

"It is, too, a melancholy truth, very little thought of during the triumph of youth and beauty, that young women are the sole material of which old women are made."*

Horace Walpole has written few sentences with more point than a passage, in which Mrs. Grant says, speaking of one of Scott's novels, the "Fortunes of Nigel":

"I had a letter informing me that in England it is accounted a failure. Honest John Bull has not seen such a failure on his side of the Tweed since Shakspeare's time."

The Baron de Grimm never told a story better, or a story better worth telling, than two which Mrs. Grant has related in connection; one of a young man, very "handsome and fashionable," whom she did not know, who pressed across a room, seized her hand, and kissed it, "thirty years and upwards," she says, "after anybody had thought of kissing my hand," and expressed to her the feelings, which her poem, "The Highlanders," had awakened in him. The stranger she afterwards found was Colonel D'Este, son of the Duke of Sussex by his marriage with Lady Augusta Murray. She goes on:

"I must not omit an anecdote, better than my own, about kissing hands. A young lady from England, very ambitious of distinction, and thinking the outrageous admiration of genius was nearly as good as the possession of it, was presented to Sir Walter Scott, and had very nearly gone through the regular forms of swooning sensibility on the occasion. Being afterwards intro-

* The passage, as written by Mrs. Grant, stands thus: "There is a melancholy truth, too, very little thought of during the triumph of youth and beauty; it is the consideration of young women's being the sole material of which old women are made."

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duced to Mr. Henry Mackenzie, she bore it better, but kissed his hand with admiring veneration. It is worth telling for the sake of Mr. Scott's comment. He said, 'Did you ever hear the like of that English lass, to faint at the sight of a cripple clerk of session, and kiss the dry, withered hand of an old tax-gatherer?'"* — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. II. pp. 163, 164.

But the limits to which we ought to confine ourselves prevent us from quoting any more such characteristic specimens of the last collection of her letters. We wish to produce one of a very different kind. In addition to the very brief remarks which we have already made on those letters, we would only observe, that no more entertaining and instructive contribution toward literary history has for a long time been given to the public.

Beside the accident that has been before mentioned, which produced permanent lameness, and the grant of a pension of a hundred pounds in the year 1826, no important events varied Mrs. Grant's life or circumstances during the interval of twenty-eight years between her removal to Edinburgh and her death in 1838, in the eighty-fourth year of her age, — except from the affliction which continually followed her, the loss of her children. She has recorded in her correspondence during the interval the deaths of four daughters, and of her son, Duncan. The manner in which she has spoken of them may "teach more"

"Than high philosophy can preach."

It would be doing great injustice to her character not to bring into view the strength and elevation of mind with which she bore her sorrows, and the deep religious faith with which she regarded them as the dispensations of the God of mercy. We might quote much, but we shall confine ourselves to some extracts from a letter written after the death of her daughter, Anne, to a friend, (Mrs. Rucker,) with whom another daughter, Mary, was then residing. It begins thus:

"Be comforted, my dear friends, — I speak to you and Mary, — she is not dead but sleepeth, — she is most assuredly entered into that blessed rest for which her pure and humble soul

* Mr. Mackenzie held the office of Comptroller of Taxes for Scotland.

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was so well prepared. Do not mourn for one who was not like the children of this world, and whose faith was made perfect through suffering, — long and bitter suffering. Of that I did not tell either of you when it would not avail; it would have made you most unhappy, and would not have saved her a single pang. My dear Mrs. Rucker, be thankful that you were the object of such fond and faithful love, as few in this world have to give, to such a spotless mind and purified soul as this that has now soared to its proper sphere. At six o'clock yesterday evening, or a little after it, she fell sweetly asleep; and though wasted to a shadow — even that shadow looks in death serenely beautiful — her forehead and eyebrows are finer than any thing I ever saw. What a heavenly treasure she has been to me! Whatever vexed or harassed me, I always found a balm from her lips and a cordial in her eyes to soothe and cheer me; her last words were a fervid expression of the unequalled affection she bore me. You well know that I saw this cloud impending last spring, and labored to make up my mind to the deepest wound that could be inflicted on it; yet when it came nearer I could not endure to look at it, and fed myself with vain hopes. . . . . He who made her all pure and lovely as she was knew what was best for her, and after indulging her in more of innocent happiness than falls to the lot of most people in a long life, he has, through this fiery trial, brought her home safely to himself. — Good is the will of the Lord!

. . . . .

"Do not, my dear friends, mourn for the freed spirit that exults in its release from a painful prison. Thank God for me, that gave me a child whose presence was a blessing, and whose memory will hover round me like a vision of bliss, till, through the merits of my Saviour, I shall know as I am known. Could I forget her with a wish, I would not part with the dear image for this world's treasure: she indeed never gave her mother grief, but when she died, never intentionally offended, never hurt me with a cold look. My sun is fast declining, I have not many years to mourn. But why mourn for this blessed spirit! O, do not mourn, my dear friends: consecrate her memory; think cheerfully, speak easily of her. Adieu, dear friends, adieu." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I. pp. 53–55.

No one can wish us to clothe in words the feelings with which every heart must be affected by this funeral hymn, so touching, so solemn, and so holy.

Here we conclude. We have succeeded but ill in these imperfect notices of Mrs. Grant, if we have not given the

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impression of a woman of extraordinary good sense, and of uncommon powers of mind; whose letters, embracing a wide variety of subjects, are as truly valuable as those of any other writer, and likely to be of as permanent interest, and to afford as lasting gratification; but especially of a woman of great strength of character, formed by religious principle and penetrated by religious sentiment, the vital principle of whose moral being was faith in God and immortality, whose sympathies were warm and diffusive, and who was full of disinterested kindness.

ART. VI. — 1. *Leçon sur la Statique Chimique des Etres Organisés, Professée par* M. DUMAS, *pour la Clôture de son Cours à l'Ecole de Médecine.* Paris: Fortier, Masson, & Co. 1841. 8vo. pp. 48.

2. *The Chemical and Physiological Balance of Organic Nature; an Essay.* By J. DUMAS and J. B. BOUSSINGAULT, Members of the Institute of France. [An English Translation of the Third French Edition.] London: H. Bailliere. 1844. 12mo. pp. 156.

3. *Lectures on the Applications of Chemistry and Geology to Agriculture.* By JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON, F. R. S., etc. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 8vo. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo.

4. *A Treatise on the Forces which produce the Organization of Plants; with an Appendix, containing several Memoirs on Capillary Attraction, Electricity, and the Chemical Action of Light.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1844. 4to. pp. 216.

We need not inform our readers, that the subjects with which these works are occupied have recently excited much attention and interest. Few strictly scientific treatises have been so generally read in this country as Professor Liebig's

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volumes on chemistry, in its applications to vegetable and animal physiology. They have not only been repeatedly issued in rival editions by respectable publishers, but the two comely octavos have been transformed into a couple of almost illegible pamphlets, and widely scattered over the land in the form of "cheap literature." We are relieved, therefore, from the misgiving we might naturally feel at placing works with such uninviting scientific titles at the head of our article; and may, without hesitation, proceed to give some account of them.

Professor Dumas is at the head of the French school of organic chemistry. His eloquent discourse on the prominent features of the life of plants and animals, considered under a chemical point of view, was pronounced at the close of his annual course of lectures at the School of Medicine, in the spring of 1841, and it forms a spirited summary of the principles which he had very fully developed during that session, and in preceding years. To the second edition was appended a series of explanatory and historical documents; and these were increased in the third, of which the second work on our list is an English translation. A portion of the appendix, and of the researches upon which these striking generalizations are based, was furnished by the zealous fellow-laborer of Dumas, M. Boussingault, whose name is accordingly associated with his own upon the title-page.

Professor Johnston's volume consists of a full series of lectures, the greater part of which were actually addressed to an audience of practical agriculturists, the Farmers' Club of Durham, England; and we are free to say, that, for the amount of useful matter it comprises, and for just scientific views happily and plainly applied to practical use, the work is unrivalled. It embraces a wider field, and enters into more specific details, than the plan of Professor Liebig's works permitted; and is, therefore, more directly available to the cultivator of the soil, whose wants it was especially intended to supply. Although addressed not to men of science, but to farmers, it will bear the test of scientific criticism, as such a work should do, perhaps above all others. One should be a complete master of a science, in order safely to teach its applications to practice. No idea is more fallacious, than that those who know little of a science may yet be qualified to write elementary books for those who know nothing. Those who have but a pittance of scientific knowledge had

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best "give God thanks, and make no boast of it; and as for their writing, let that appear when there is no need of such vanity."

Professor Draper's large and handsome quarto volume is a work of higher pretensions. It is addressed to the learned, and purports to contain important discoveries in the domain of science.

"The time has now arrived," he announces in his Preface, "when both vegetable and animal physiology *are to have* their foundations laid on chemistry and natural philosophy, the only basis which can elevate them from *their present deplorable position* to that of true sciences. It is with this impression, that the explanations which I have given in this book, of the mode by which light acts in determining organization, and of the mechanical causes by which such organized matter is transmitted from point to point of living systems, (for these are the leading facts which this work is designed to illustrate,) are offered to the attention of chemical philosophers."

The italics are our own. The preface bears the date of October 1, 1844. It is, of course, incumbent upon us to give our readers some general account of these discoveries. The problem which Dr. Draper has undertaken to investigate is a very interesting and fundamental one; and towards its elucidation much has already been done, and more may be expected from chemical and physical research. So imposing a volume of original researches demands our special attention. But as our author, writing much in the manner of a popular lecturer, and taking nothing for granted, although ostensibly addressing "chemical philosophers," seldom distinguishes between that which is to be deemed original, and that which mere sucklings in science might be supposed to know, it may be worth while, in the first place, to favor our unlearned readers with a sketch of those general conclusions, which the vegetable physiologists and chemists had already obtained. This we shall attempt to do, after our own fashion, taking the vegetable kingdom as our starting-point, and pursuing the course which, in our view, leads to the most natural and clear exposition of the general phenomena and results of vegetation, considered under a chemico-physiological aspect.

Of what, it may be asked, do plants essentially consist? Whence do they obtain the matter which enters into their

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composition, — that is, their food? And what changes does the plant impress upon the materials it feeds on? The answer to these questions brings to view the reciprocal relations and influences of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, and enables us to comprehend the office of plants in the general economy of the world.

The food and the elementary composition of plants stand in a necessary relation to each other. Since it is absurd to suppose that vegetables possess the power of creating any element, whatever they contain must have been derived from without. Their composition, therefore, indicates their food. If we have learned the chemical composition of a vegetable, and also what it gives back to the soil and the air, we know what it must have derived from without; that is, its food. Or, if we have ascertained what the plant takes from the soil and air, and what it returns to them, we have learned its chemical composition, — the difference between these two. And when we compare the nature and condition of the materials which the plant takes from the soil and the air with what it gives back to them, we may comprehend the influences of vegetation upon the mineral kingdom.

If we consider, then, the materials of which plants are composed, we shall learn what their food must necessarily contain. These materials are of two kinds; the difference between which may readily be made apparent. Every one knows that water, that universal solvent, as it percolates the soil, dissolves a portion of the various earthy matters it meets with. These, being drawn into the plant with the water which the roots imbibe, are at length deposited either in the wood or the leaves, from which the greater part of the water at length escapes by evaporation; they form the ashes which are left on burning a leaf or a piece of wood. Now, although it is true, that these earthy or mineral matters are often turned to account by the plant, and although some of them are necessary in the formation of certain products of certain plants,— as, the flinty matter which gives needful firmness to the stalks of wheat, and the phosphate of magnesia, the iron, &c., which always exist in the grain, — yet none of them are essential to simple vegetation, which may, and often does, proceed as well without them. These materials, whose presence is in some sort accidental, may be called the *earthy*, *mineral*, or *inorganic* constituents of plants.

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But if we analyze the newly formed tissue of plants, or any vegetable substance, such as a piece of wood, after this incrusting mineral matter has been chemically removed, we find it invariably composed of either three or four elements; elements which are indispensable to vegetation, and which make up, at least, from eighty-eight to ninety-nine *per cent.* of every vegetable substance. These are the *universal, organic* constituents of plants.

These we now consider, leaving the mineral materials entirely out of view for the present. The four essential organic elements of plants are *carbon*, *hydrogen*, *oxygen*, and *nitrogen.* The proper vegetable structure, that is, the substance of the cells and vessels, uniformly consists of only three of these simple elements, namely, *carbon*, *hydrogen*, and *oxygen.* These are absolutely essential and universal; while the fourth, *nitrogen*, though perhaps always present, is only requisite in the formation of certain very important products.

These four elements must be furnished by the food upon which the vegetable lives; they must be drawn from the soil or the air. Since the leaves, as ordinarily situated, can imbibe air or vapor only, and the hygrometric tissue of the rootlets is specially adapted to the absorption of liquids, refusing admission to solid particles, the food of the plant must be received in the gaseous or liquid form, chiefly in the latter. But in whatever form imbibed, the great vehicle of the plant's nourishment is evidently *water*, which as a liquid bathes its roots, and in the state of vapor continually surrounds its leaves. The question, therefore, naturally arises, Is water itself the food of plants?

Water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen. It may, therefore, furnish two of the plant's essential elements. It must furnish the principal part of the hydrogen; for this element does not exist, in a separate state, either in the soil or in the air, nor in any form, (with an exception that may be left out of the general view,) unless as one of the components of water. And reasons, which will hereafter become apparent, also show that nearly all the oxygen which actually enters into the composition of the plant must be derived from the water which it so freely imbibes.

But water can never furnish what it does not itself contain. It has no carbon in its composition, no nitrogen.

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Therefore, *pure water*, though indispensable, is insufficient for the nourishment of plants. Yet if the water, which so copiously filtrates through the leafy plant, actually contains even a minute quantity of the two remaining ingredients, carbon and nitrogen, in such a form that they may be detained in the plant when the superfluous water is exhaled, abundant provision for the food of the vegetable would thereby be afforded; for, however diluted, the plant may condense and accumulate it to the requisite extent, just as the extremely minute portion of earthy matter, which the water holds, accumulates in the leaves and wood. The question, then, recurs in this form: Does the water, which the plant actually imbibes, contain a quantity of these remaining elements? Though pure water cannot, yet may not rain-water furnish the needful carbon and nitrogen?

Nearly seventy-nine *per cent.* of the atmosphere consists of nitrogen gas, in an uncombined state; that is, merely mingled with oxygen. Now, as this gas is to a certain extent absorbed by water, every rain-drop that falls through the air must bring with it a minute portion of nitrogen; and this is necessarily imbibed with the water which the roots take in. Accordingly, free nitrogen gas is always found in growing plants. There is, besides, a compound of nitrogen, which is always formed when any animal, and almost any vegetable, substance decays, and which is found to be especially adapted to the nourishment of plants, namely, *ammonia*, or *hartshorn*, — a compound of hydrogen and nitrogen. We know that ammonia exists in the air, though in quantities so minute as to be inappreciable to our senses; since, being very volatile, it must continually rise from decaying animal and vegetable substances. We readily apprehend why it does not accumulate, in the progress of time, so as to become perceptible; for it is extremely soluble in water, as well as all its compounds, and is therefore greedily absorbed by aqueous vapor, and thus washed out of the atmosphere, as it were, and brought down to the surface by rain. The chemists can accordingly detect its presence in all rain-water. In this form, as ammonia and its volatile compounds, nitrogen must continually be presented to the roots of plants. That the roots actually absorb it may be inferred from the familiar fact, that plants grow most luxuriantly when the soil is supplied with those substances which yield much ammonia,

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such as most manures. And finally, ammonia, as such, may be detected in the juices of almost all plants.

Rain-water, therefore, contains the third element of vegetation, *nitrogen*, — drawn from the air, both in a separate form, and in that of ammonia. But what is the source of the remaining constituent, *carbon*, of which plants must have a copious supply, since it forms by far the largest portion of their bulk? If we obtain the carbon of a leaf or a piece of wood, separate from the other organic elements, — which is done by charring, that is, by heating it out of contact with the air, so as to drive off the oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, — although we necessarily lose a part of the carbon in the operation, yet what is left perfectly preserves the shape and bulk of the original material, even of its most delicate cells and vessels. From forty to sixty *per cent.*, by weight, of the original body remains in the form of carbon or charcoal.

Now, all the other elements of plants are gases in their natural state, actually existing in the air, from which they are drawn and presented to the roots in the form of rain-water; while carbon is a solid, absolutely insoluble in water. In what form can it be employed by the plant, which imbibes fluids only? The chief, if not the only, form in which a fluid compound of carbon is naturally presented to the plant is that of *carbonic acid gas;* which consists of carbon and oxygen. This gas makes up, on an average, one two-thousandth of the bulk of the atmosphere; from which it may be directly absorbed by the leaves. But it is freely soluble in water, up to a given extent, and so must be carried down by the rain, and imbibed by the roots. The carbonic acid of the atmosphere is clearly the great source of carbon for vegetation.

The mineral world is made up of a large number of elementary bodies, and their compounds are multiplied almost to infinity; but only three or four of these are concerned in the general phenomena of vegetation. The air, water, and carbonic acid are the few materials upon which organic nature universally operates. The atmosphere that surrounds us — considering water in the state of vapor to form a component part of it — contains all the essential elements of plants, and contains them in the best, if not the only available, form; namely, in a fluid state. It furnishes water, which

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is not only food itself, but is the vehicle of the others; as it brings to the roots what it has gathered from the air, that is, the needful supply of nitrogen, (either separately or in the form of ammonia,) and of carbon in the form of carbonic acid.

It is worthy of particular notice, that the whole *proper food* of plants — the water, the nitrogen, and the carbonic acid — *may be* absorbed by the leaves directly from the air, in the state of gas or vapor. That certain plants may derive adequate sustenance in this manner is evident from such cases as that of the common Orpine, or Live-for-Ever of the gardens, — a branch of which, thrust into a crevice, or pinned to a bare shaded wall, will usually live and grow for the whole season. That most plants actually take in a portion of their food in this way, or at least may be made to do so when all other supply is arrested, is well known to vegetable physiologists. And that one class of vegetables, the *Epiphytes*, or Air-plants, as they are appropriately called, must draw their whole sustenance directly from the air, is perfectly certain; for they have no connection with the soil. But leaving peculiar cases and subordinate arrangements out of view, it is plain, that the general office of leaves is to elaborate rather than to absorb nourishment. As a comprehensive statement, we may say, that plants, though they *derive their food from the air, receive it through their roots.* The aqueous vapor, condensed into rain, and bringing with it to the ground a portion of carbonic acid, and of nitrogen or ammonia, thus conveys the appropriate food of the plant to the rootlets. Absorbed by these, it is carried through the stem into the leaves, where the now superfluous water is restored to the atmosphere by exhalation; while the residue is converted, by a most refined chemistry, into the proper substance of the vegetable.

The water exhaled, laden in its circuit with a new supply of carbonic acid and nitrogen, may in time be again absorbed by the roots of plants, again exhaled, and thus follow its ceaseless round. This is beautifully illustrated by the cultivation of plants in close glazed cases, where they are made to flourish for a long time with a very limited supply of water, every particle of which, except the small portion actually decomposed by the plant, must have passed repeatedly through this circulation. This vegetable microcosm

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truly exhibits the actual relations of water and air to vegetation in the great world. It is well known, that, if all the aqueous vapor which the atmosphere can hold at any one time were to fall at once in the form of rain, it would scarcely amount to five inches in depth over the whole surface of the globe. But certainly the atmosphere, taken altogether, never does contain half the quantity of water it is capable of holding; so that all the aqueous vapor which it actually holds at any one time would not amount to more than two inches of rain over the whole of the earth's surface.

Now, the actual fall of rain varies, in different latitudes, from 13 to 150 inches *per annum;* and the mean fall of rain over the whole earth is estimated at over thirty inches. Consequently, the water which falls in rain is, on an average, reëvaporated and rained down fifteen times in the course of a year. This is exclusive of the dew, by which the alternate evaporation and condensation is daily repeated on a smaller scale, and whose gentle action, though less striking, is scarcely less beneficial. For a simple physical law causes the dew to bestow its silent favors where they are most required, — upon the grass-plot and the cultivated field, — not upon the unrequiting rock, the naked sand, or the trodden highway, where there is no vegetation to nourish. Even rain, on a great scale, is distributed much in the same manner. It is denied to the arid desert, and most plenteously poured upon regions clothed with forest. Nor do we mistake the effect for the cause; for, once established, cause and effect are here reciprocal. "To him that *hath* shall be given."

An obvious consequence of this perpetual circulation of water is, that the atmosphere is repeatedly *washed* by the rain; and those vapors are washed out, which otherwise, by their accumulation, would ultimately prove injurious to animals; such, especially, as carbonic acid and ammonia, which are continually imparted to the air by animals, and so conveyed to the roots of plants, which they are especially adapted to nourish. Nor should it be overlooked, that the thunder-storm, as well as the gentle dew and the refreshing shower, works for good in the beneficent arrangements of the Creator. The flashes of lightning, that "dart from the storm-cloud and furrow vast fields of air," engender from aerial elements a quantity of the nitrate of ammonia, — the

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most potent of manures, the most concentrated vegetable food, — which the rain immediately washes down to the soil.

It appears, then, that all the essential materials for vegetation are furnished by the atmosphere, and are brought to the plant in the most available form ; that plants actually derive their nourishment from this source ; and it might be shown, that all the constituents of vegetables (excepting the small earthy portion, that many species can do without) have, at some period, belonged to the atmosphere. Hence, vegetables may not improperly be considered as *formed out of air*, or as *so much solidified atmosphere !* They represent an amount of matter which the force of organization has withdrawn from the air, and confined for a time to the surface.

If this be true, as it certainly is, we might hastily infer, that the soil merely serves as a *foothold* to plants ; and that any given vegetable does in fact obtain all its nourishment directly from the atmosphere. The too unguarded statement of so distinguished a chemist as Professor Liebig seems to tend to this conclusion, and has been thus understood ; partly, as we think, from some misapprehension of his real meaning. Indeed, this view would appear to be fully borne out by such facts and considerations as the following.

Vegetation must have had a beginning. Science and sacred history equally point to a time, when no vegetable matter existed in the soil which overspread the earth's surface. The first plants *must* have grown without the aid of either vegetable or animal matter ; they *must* have derived their whole organic food directly from the air. Nor are we left to speculations which go back to the origin of vegetation. This process is often repeated on a small scale, even in our own times ; as when small volcanic islands are raised from the sea, and the bare inorganic soil is gradually clothed, first, perhaps, with humble lichens, then with mosses, ferns, and rushes, and at last with common herbage, shrubs, and trees, — forming, in time, a vast accumulation of vegetable matter, where none at first existed. So, likewise, after an eruption of molten lava or volcanic ashes from Etna, heated so as to destroy every vestige of organic matter that we can imagine to have existed therein, the soil thus produced is often covered with rich vegetation in less than a century.

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In all these cases, no vegetable matter has been conveyed to these perfectly sterile mineral soils, except the minute portion contained in the seeds, &c., wafted thither by winds or waves. And yet a vast quantity has been produced, and is represented not only by the existing vegetation, but by the rich mould imparted to the soil by the decay of previous generations. What is the source of this vegetable matter? The necessary materials exist in the air. Plants possess the peculiar faculty of drawing them from the air. The air must have furnished the whole.

We may submit this view to the test of actual experiment, by causing any common seed of known weight — a garden bean, for example — to germinate, as it readily will, on pounded flints, watered with rain-water alone. When the plant has attained the fullest development of which it is capable under such circumstances, it will be found to weigh many times as much as the seed from which it sprang. It may be supposed to derive a portion of its weight from the flinty soil. Let its ashes, therefore, be deducted, and its carbon alone taken into the account. This element, which may have increased perhaps fifty or a hundred fold, can have been derived only from the carbonic acid brought to the plant by the rain-water and the air.

Many striking confirmations of this fact fall under the notice of the agriculturist. He well knows, that, when an impoverished soil is laid down to grass, the longer it remains in undisturbed vegetation, the richer in vegetable mould does the soil become. In our forests, also, a vast amount of vegetable matter is accumulated in the trunks of the trees. Do they draw this from a stock in the soil? How is it, then, that the vegetable mould in the soil increases with the age of the forest? As a whole, they must draw from the air not only the carbon which their trunks contain, but an additional quantity, which they impart to the soil, in the annual fall of leaves, &c.*

This point may be more strikingly presented by directing our attention to the case of a single tree. Let us take, for example, one of those gigantic Oregon Pines, which were noticed in a recent number of this Review, † — that tree

* These points are well stated by Professor Johnston, in his *Agricultural Chemistry*, Lect. IV., from which we have taken many of the foregoing illustrations.

† *North American Review*, Vol. LIX., p. 223.

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whose prostrate trunk Douglas found to be two hundred and fifty feet in length, and tapering regularly from a base of fifty-eight feet in circumference. The solid contents of this trunk we may estimate, in round numbers, at 17,000 cubic feet. The weight of its wood, when seasoned, supposing it to have the specific gravity of our White Pine, — which it somewhat resembles,— would be 714,000 pounds. Of this, four pounds in every thousand must be allowed for the *ashes*, — the mineral constituents which have certainly been derived from the earth (2856 lbs.) ; leaving for its proper organic materials 711,144 pounds.

Taken as mere dry pine wood, half of this amount is carbon, namely, 355,572 pounds. But this tree abounds in turpentine and resin, — substances which contain a much greater proportion of carbon. We allow, to make round numbers, 428 pounds for the excess of carbon in this form. Disregarding the other elements, then, this tree has accumuluted 356,000 pounds, or 178 tons, of carbon or charcoal in its trunk. Whence has this large amount been derived ? From the ground ? A thousand years ago, when the seed germinated which has given rise to this giant tree, the soil of the limited space its roots occupy could not, certainly, have contained the millionth part of the carbon which is now stored up in its trunk. It *may* not have contained a particle ; for the Pine will thrive upon a sandy, sterile soil ; and these very trees, says Douglas, were actually growing " in nearly pure sand." In any given year, this tree must have returned to the soil, by its falling leaves and cones, quite as much as it took from it. Was it furnished with carbon from the falling leaves or decaying trunks of neighbouring trees and plants ? A portion, certainly, may have been so supplied, in any given case ; but this only removes the question a step further back. Besides, this tree stood in a forest of similar Pines, — many of them equally, and some still more gigantic and venerable, — all of which have been accumulating carbon for hundreds of years at the same rate. There can be but one answer to this question. The immense stock of carbon, not only of this tree, but of the whole forest, has been drawn from the air.

And in a similar manner we might show, that the whole amount of all the organic elements of all plants was originally derived from the air. But does it therefore follow,

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that each and every plant actually draws all its food directly from the air? In certain cases, undoubtedly. The *Epiphytes*, or Air-plants, having no connection with the soil, live necessarily and directly on the atmosphere. So do those plants which first vegetate on volcanic earth, bare rocks, naked walls, or in pure sand. But we must particularly remark, that only a comparatively small number of plants will grow, or continue to live, under such circumstances; and, especially, none of the vegetables useful as food for man, or the higher animals, will thus thrive and come to maturity.

We have also seen, that the plants which do grow in this manner, as well as the undisturbed forest and grass land, deposit vegetable mould, and thus gradually make a soil rich in organized matter. Is this vegetable mould useless, and so left to escape, by slow decomposition, into the air from which it has been so laboriously withdrawn? Certainly not. Nature does not thus waste her strength, or relinquish the advantages she has gained over inorganic nature. The races of plants that may thus grow at the entire expense of the air gradually form a soil of vegetable mould during their life, which they increase in their decay; and their successors live more healthfully upon the inheritance, being supported partly upon what they industriously take from the air, and partly upon the ancestral accumulation of vegetable mould. In this way, each successive generation may enrich the soil; for, although drawing perhaps a large part of its nourishment from this store, yet it annually returns a portion by its dead leaves; and when it dies, it bequeaths to the soil not only all that it took from it, but all that it drew from the air.

It is in this manner, especially, that the humble lichens, mosses, ferns, and other plants which short-sighted man terms useless, play an essential part in the economy of nature. They *can* live directly upon the air. Their minute seeds, quite invisible to the naked eye, and in number far surpassing man's power of computation, — light almost as the air itself, — are widely scattered by the winds over mountain and plain, and lodged upon every naked rock, or stagnant pool, or tract of barren sand, where all they need is moisture to excite and maintain their growth. Some, like the lichens, require even little of this. They attach themselves to dry rocks, or plains of lava, which are washed only by

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the occasional shower ; and here they make the earliest inroads upon barrenness. Not only do the accumulated remains of successive generations fill the crevices with fertile mould, and the water, which it holds like a sponge, by its freezing and thawing, aids in the disintegration of the rock ; but many of them create, from aërial elements, *oxalic acid*, a powerful solvent, which, as it is gradually set free, acts upon and excavates the stony surface to which the plant firmly adheres. Thus the dying lichen digs for itself in the solid rock a sepulchre, in which its dust may rest. Well did Linnæus, in his lively fancy, term the lichens *vernaculi*, or *bond-slaves*, chained, as it were, to the rocks which they labor to cover with soil for the benefit of others, though they derive from it no nourishment for themselves.

Next, certain tribes of mosses take possession of this scanty soil, and more rapidly increase its amount ; while others, of aquatic habits, convert shallow pools into quaking bogs, and create in time vast accumulations of vegetable matter in the form of peat. These are truly *servi*, as Linnæus termed them ; servants to the nobler plants which soon succeed them. For then come the ferns, (the *novaccolæ*, or colonists,) after lichens have furnished them a foothold upon the rock, or mosses given them one upon the spongy and unstable morass. And these are the precursors of grasses, rushes, and other plants of more immediate importance to man and the higher animals ; but which never would come to perfection, if left, like their humble but indispensable predecessors, to draw an unaided subsistence directly from the inorganic world. It is thus that the bare earth is at length enabled to support the sturdy forest, or the rich field of waving grain.

While it is strictly true, therefore, that all the organic elements, or the food of plants, have been originally derived from the air, it is not true, that what is contained in any given plant, in any one crop we raise, is directly drawn from the atmosphere alone. "A plant grows partly at the expense of the vegetable matter in the soil accumulated by preceding vegetables, and partly at that of the air. When it reaches maturity, or when winter arrives, it dies ; and of its decaying structure, a part is resolved into air, and returned to the atmosphere ; a part remains, and is incorporated with the soil. If that which remains be greater than

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that which the growing plant derived from the soil, the vegetable mould in the soil increases ; if less, it will diminish." When vegetation is left to its natural course, there is ordinarily an accumulation. But in agriculture, the farmer removes his crop from the land ; and so takes away not only what the plants have received from the earth, but also what they have absorbed from the air ; and, consequently, he exhausts the land rapidly. Hence, he finds it necessary to follow the example of nature, and to restore to the soil, in the form of manure, an amount substantially equivalent to what he takes away ; in fact, to return to the soil every part of his crop that does not return to his pocket in the form of money.

To complete our view, we should now consider the earthy constituents of plants, which, although unessential to the general question, are very important in their agricultural relations. The principal conclusions of the chemical physiologists upon the subject seem to be these : first, that different vegetables take from the soil, or at least retain in their system, unequal proportions of earthy matter, — some more of one thing, some more of another ; and, secondly, that each species must obtain those earthy materials which form a constituent of its fruit, seed, &c. ; else it will not live a healthful life and come to maturity. We hasten to another part of our subject.

We have learned what the food of plants is, and whence they obtain it. Their universal food is rain-water, which has absorbed some carbonic acid, nitrogen, and ammonia or its compounds, from the air, or dissolved them from the decomposing remains of former vegetation already existing in the soil ; whence it has also dissolved a variable quantity of earthy matter. This liquid is imbibed by the roots, and carried upwards through the tissues of the stem. But it is still the raw material of growth, — crude sap, — mineral matter, — *of the earth, earthy*, — and as yet incapable of forming a part of the living structure. How does the plant turn it to account, and convert it into its own substance ?

For this purpose, the crude sap is carried into the leaves. The leaves and other green parts of plants (or, more strictly, the *chlorophylle*, or green matter they contain) constitute the apparatus of vegetable digestion. The agent, the motive power which puts this most curious chemical apparatus

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into action, is *solar light*. This is the indispensable agent by which lifeless mineral matter — earth and air — is transformed into the organized substance of living plants, and consequently of animals. Such is the important part which light performs in vegetable digestion; that initial step in organized existence, upon which, as the first link in the chain, all the rest absolutely depends. Hence, the creative fiat, "Let there be light," was the immediate precursor, as it is the indispensable condition, of organized and animate existence.

Under the influence of light, this curious machinery is constructed, and the *chlorophylle* — the green matter of vegetation — is first developed. When plants vegetate in insufficient light, — as potatoes shoot in our cellars, — this green matter is not formed. When light is withdrawn, it is soon decomposed; as when celery is blanched by heaping the soil around its stems. Under the influence of the solar rays, an essential preliminary step in vegetable digestion is accomplished; namely, the concentration of the crude sap by the evaporation or exhalation from the leaves of the now superfluous water. This exhalation, its amount, its dependence upon sunshine, and its obvious consequences upon the rise of the sap, the early death of the leaf, and as explaining how the plant can draw sufficient nourishment from such excessively diluted food, we cannot here pause to consider. These are preparatory operations. We pass to the agency of light in that process in which the very essence of vegetation consists; namely, its action, in the leaf, upon the concentrated sap. Here light accomplishes two perfectly unparalleled results, both of the highest conceivable importance in the economy of nature.

These are, first, *the chemical decomposition of one or more of the substances in the sap which contain oxygen gas, and the liberation of this oxygen at the ordinary temperature of the air*. In certain cases, the chemist, in his laboratory, can set free oxygen gas from its compounds; but, for the most part, only with the aid of a heat equal to that of red-hot iron.

The second result has already been mentioned: *the actual conversion of this mineral, or inorganic, into organized matter*, — matter capable of forming, and which does form, the living tissue of all plants and animals.

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These two great operations, though separately stated, to convey a clearer idea of the results, are carried on simultaneously, — are, in fact, but different aspects of one great operation. We contemplate the first, (the liberation of oxygen gas,) when we consider what the plant gives back to the air. We contemplate the second, when we inquire what the plant retains as the materials of its own growth. The concentrated sap is decomposed; the portion which is not required in the plant's growth is returned to the air; and at the same time, the remaining elements are rearranged so as to form new and peculiar products, — *organic* products. The principal material which is given up to the air, in this operation, is oxygen gas, that element of our atmosphere which alone renders it fit for the breathing and life of animals. That the foliage of plants in sunshine is continually yielding oxygen gas to the surrounding air has been familiarly known since the days of Senebier, Ingenhouz, and Priestley.

We shall not attempt to trace the history of this beautiful discovery, which any one may verify for himself, by exposing some freshly gathered leaves to the sunshine in an inverted glass vessel filled with water, so as to collect the bubbles of air which rise, and which, on examination, prove to be nearly pure oxygen gas. The evolution of this gas goes on while the sun shines, but immediately stops when a shadow is cast over the leaves, and is resumed when the screen is withdrawn, or when a gleam of reflected sunlight is cast upon the leaves from a mirror; thus showing how entirely the whole depends upon sunshine. In nature's operations, diffused daylight answers the purpose; but in our rude experiments, we cannot quite imitate the delicacy of her processes. What is the source of this oxygen gas, which is thus given out to the air just in proportion to the vigor of vegetation?

To take the simplest and most general case, — suppose the plant is converting its inorganic food directly into the materials of its own growth, the very matter of which its fabric is constructed. This matter — the *lignin* of chemists, the material of wood and of the whole vegetable structure — is composed of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen; of which, the two latter exist in the same proportions as in the composition of water. As a convenient form of expression, it may therefore be said to consist of carbon and the elements

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of water. These materials are, of course, furnished by the food upon which the plant lives. But this universal, all-essential food, we have seen, is carbonic acid and water. If these elements be decomposed, as we know they are, by the solar rays, and the carbonic acid merely relinquish its oxygen, we have left carbon and water, or the elements of water, the very composition of vegetable tissue. It can scarcely be doubted, then, that the oxygen gas, which is in such case given up to the air, comes from the carbonic acid which, as we have shown, the plant took from the air.

There is a beautiful mode of testing the correctness of this view. Since the air-plants, to which we have so often alluded, must necessarily imbibe directly from the air into their leaves all the carbonic acid they consume, it would naturally be inferred, that common plants take in, or may be made to take in, a part of their carbonic acid in the same way. Accordingly, small leafy plants, or handfuls of fresh foliage, have been exposed to the sun in glass vessels, while a current of carbonic acid is made slowly and repeatedly to pass over them. The leaves seize the carbonic acid with avidity, and give back oxygen gas in its place. It is clear, therefore, that the oxygen which is given to the air, in ordinary vegetable digestion, comes from the decomposition of carbonic acid. Plants take this latter gas from the air, directly or indirectly; they retain its carbon; they restore to the air pure oxygen.

Next, let us suppose that the plant, instead of transforming its food immediately into new tissue, new branches and leaves, chooses to accumulate it for future use. In that case, it is first converted into gum or mucilage, and thus conveyed by the returning circulation to the place where the *depôt* is established, — perhaps in the root, like the turnip; or in subterranean portions of the stem, as in the potato; or even in the wood; and there stored up in the form of starch. Now, it is remarkable, — it is, indeed, one of the most interesting discoveries of the present age, — that both gum and starch, which plants so largely create for their own future consumption, have exactly the same chemical composition as vegetable tissue itself; a composition like that represented by carbon and the elements of water. In their formation, likewise, the carbonic acid of the sap yields all its oxygen to the air.

Sometimes the digested food is accumulated in the more

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soluble form of sugar, ready for rapid consumption in flowering; as in the stalk of the sugar-cane and maize, and the root of the beet. But sugar has the same chemical composition as starch and vegetable tissue, with the addition of another atom of water in the case of common or cane-sugar, and of three atoms in grape-sugar. Its formation, in all cases, gives the same amount of oxygen to the air. The conclusion becomes more and more evident, that, *by so much as plants grow*, they take carbonic acid from the air, retain its carbon, and restore its oxygen.

Since these general vegetable products are essentially identical in chemical composition, it is no longer such a special wonder, that they should be mutually convertible; that the plant, when it draws upon its accumulated stock, should so promptly change the form of the investment from starch into mucilage or sugar, or *vice versâ*, and finally into vegetable tissue. Even the chemist in his laboratory effects some of these transformations, though in one direction only. He can possibly change woody fibre into starch, and thus, as has been thought, make bread of wood; he can certainly change woody fibre into sugar, as well as starch into gum and into sugar. But he cannot reverse the spell, and convert sugar into starch, or either into wood, as the plant so readily does. And as to creating these or other organic products from their original elements, — carbonic acid and water, — that is the prerogative of the plant alone.

When the plant forms vegetable acids, a part only of the oxygen of the carbonic acid is restored to the air; when oils and resins are produced, which consist of carbon and hydrogen only, the oxygen of the water must also be evolved. In the formation of gluten, vegetable albumen, and all the important quaternary vegetable products, the nitrogen of the plant's food is an essential element; but oxygen gas is equally given to the atmosphere from the decomposition of carbonic acid.

As concerns the atmosphere, then, the principal result of vegetation appears to be the withdrawal of carbonic acid, and the restoration of its oxygen. This is the constant effect of vegetation, and the measure of its amount. It is probably true, indeed, that leaves decompose carbonic acid in the full light of day. There is no doubt, that, in the night, they sometimes give a quantity of carbonic acid to the air,

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or even rob it of a little oxygen. But this by no means affects the general result, or requires any qualification of our broad statement. The work ceases merely when light is withdrawn. But whenever the exhalation of water from the leaves slowly continues in darkness, the carbonic acid which this water holds in solution necessarily flies off with it, — escapes undecomposed, during the necessary interruption to vegetation, into the atmosphere from which the plant took it ; just as the alcohol evaporates from the wick of a spirit-lamp after the light is extinguished. So much of the crude sap, or raw material, merely runs to waste.

But further ; we must bear in mind, that the decomposition of carbonic acid by light, in the leaves, is in direct opposition to the ordinary laws of chemical affinity ; in other words, that all organized matter is in a state of unstable equilibrium. When light is withdrawn, therefore, what wonder if common chemical forces should resume their sway, — the oxygen of the air combine with some of the newly deposited carbon, and again form a little carbonic acid; thus demolishing some portion of the rising vegetable structure which the setting sun left in an unfinished and unstable state. This always does take place, when a plant is kept in prolonged darkness ; and in a dead herb, at all times, chemical forces exert their power uncontrolled, and pull down the whole vegetable fabric, beginning with the all-important green matter, — as we observe in the blanching of celery, — and at length resolve the whole tissue into the carbonic acid and water of which it was made. All this must be placed to the account of *decomposing*, not of *growing*, vegetation ; and, therefore, does not affect the general result, that, by so much as plants vegetate, they decompose carbonic acid and give its oxygen to the air; in other words, they purify the air.

We may not only show, that this contrary action of vegetation during the night is incidental, but we may deny its universal occurrence. In repeating the old experiments with due precautions, and with the advantage of improved means of research, one of the most acute analytical chemists of the age found, that the plants he employed, while in full health, gave no carbonic acid to the air during the night, and consumed no oxygen.* This anomaly, which has so long

* Pepys, in Phil. Trans., 1843, p. 329.

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been taken for granted, and so greatly misunderstood, — having even been dignified with the name of the true respiration of plants, — has no existence as a general phenomenon. Plants deteriorate the air only in their decay, and in certain special operations to which we may presently allude.

Let us first obtain some general notion of the amount of the influence of vegetation, as such, upon the air we breathe. For every six pounds of carbon which plants have accumulated in their structure, they have withdrawn from the atmosphere twenty-two pounds of baleful carbonic acid gas, and replaced it with sixteen pounds — an equal bulk — of life-sustaining oxygen. Consider the quantity extant merely in the trunks of trees. The trunk of the single giant Pine already mentioned contains 356,000 pounds of carbon, — a quantity sufficient to propel on our railroads 200 tons of merchandise a distance of 3,560 miles! In its growth, this tree withdrew from the air 1,305,333 pounds of carbonic acid gas, and replaced it with 949,333 pounds of oxygen gas; a quantity sufficient to maintain the respiration of a single man for 1,110 years. It is, perhaps, worth noticing, that the age of this great tree has been somewhat roughly estimated at 1,100 years;* so that, year by year, it has supplied oxygen to the air just at the rate at which a single man would consume it. Add to the quantity of carbon gathered by this one tree all that is contained in the forests and herbage of the world, — all that has accumulated in the soil as vegetable mould, peat, and in other forms, — all that is locked up in the vast deposits of coal, the product of the vegetation of by-gone ages, — and, finally, let the estimate embrace all that belongs to the bodies of the whole existing animal kingdom, — and we shall have the expression, if it can be made in figures, of the amount of a single, though the largest, element which vegetation has withdrawn from the atmosphere. If we multiply the vast amount of carbon by sixteen, and divide it by six, we obtain the number of pounds of oxygen gas that have, in this process, been supplied to the atmosphere. An immense operation, therefore, on a scale commensurate with the grandeur of nature, is in progress, and has been going on ever since the world began. *What is its object?*

To answer this question, consider, first, that vegetation

* *N. A. Review*, Vol. LIX., p. 226.

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is, so far as we know, the only operation in nature which gives to the air free oxygen gas, that indispensable requisite to animal life. All prevailing chemical tendencies, on the contrary, take oxygen *from* the air. The materials of the earth's crust are not all saturated with it; many of them still rob the air of oxygen by all the changes they naturally undergo; and none of them, by any known natural process, give back a particle in the useful state in which they took it, — uncombined, or in a condition to support animal life. Animals all consume it, at every moment of their life, giving to the air carbonic acid in its place; and, when dead, their decaying bodies consume still more.

Decomposing vegetable matter tends to the same result. Its carbon, taking oxygen from the air, is restored in the form of carbonic acid. Combustion, as in the burning of fuel, amounts to precisely the same thing. It is merely rapid decay. The gigantic Pine, from which we have so frequently drawn our illustrations, has, for the last thousand years, been slowly gathering its carbon from the air. If the prostrate trunk be left to itself, it may be almost as slowly restored to the air in the original form of carbonic acid. But if set on fire, the whole work may be done, or rather undone, in a day.

All these great causes conspire to rob the air of its life-sustaining oxygen. The original supply is, indeed, so great, that, were there no natural compensation, centuries upon centuries would elapse before the amount of oxygen could be so much reduced, or that of carbonic acid increased, as sensibly to affect the present races of animals. Such a period, however, would eventually arrive, were there no provision for the decomposition of the carbonic acid, and the restoration of its oxygen. We have seen, that vegetation accomplishes this very result. The needful compensation, therefore, is found in the vegetable kingdom.

While animals consume the oxygen of the air, and give back carbonic acid, which is injurious to their life, this same carbonic acid is the principal element of the food of vegetables, — is consumed by them, and the oxygen restored for the use of animals. Hence, the necessity of the vegetable kingdom in purifying the air we breathe. Hence, the perfect adaptation of the two great classes of living beings to each other; each removing from the atmosphere what would

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be noxious to the other, — each yielding to the atmosphere what is essential to the continued existence of the other.

And yet, in one point of view, this reciprocity, as Sir Boyle Roche would say, is nearly all on one side. The vegetable kingdom not only preceded the animal, but might have continued to exist alone, though, perhaps, not in its present extent and variety. The decaying races of plants, yielding their carbon to the soil and to the air, would furnish food for their successors. Let it be remembered, that the whole carbon of the carbonic acid, which animals render to the air in breathing, they have drawn from the vegetable kingdom in their food. In time, it would all have found its way back to the air, ready for new generations of plants, without the intervention of animals. At most, they merely expedite its return. It is quite as probable that they retard it. Not so with animals. No act of theirs, no natural process besides vegetation, restores the oxygen they consume to the atmosphere. The service which the vegetable kingdom renders to the animal, in this respect, therefore, though remotely, is yet really, essential to their continued existence.

But this is only one aspect. The vegetable kingdom renders to the animal another service, so essential, that its failure for a single year would depopulate the earth; we refer to the indispensable agency of vegetables in providing the food of the whole animal kingdom. Annihilate plants, and the greater part of the animal races — all the herbivorous animals — would immediately die of famine; the carnivorous would soon perish; their bodies ere long would be resolved into their original air and dust, and nothing but the bare mineral kingdom, or lifeless, unorganized matter, would remain. We need not repeat the now familiar statement, that plants are the great, the sole, producers of organic matter. This is their grand office. They alone convert the materials furnished chiefly by the atmosphere; they *condense air* into organized matter. While plants thus produce upon such a vast scale, they consume or destroy comparatively little. Even when they do consume their own products, it is not in the mere vegetation; but in the accomplishment of some special results, chiefly in flowering. They often seem to *consume*, when they only *transform* and *transfer*. When they apparently consume the nutritive matter accumulated in the root of the carrot, for instance, or in the tuber of

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a potato, they in fact transform it, for the most part, into branches, foliage, and flowers.

Animals *consume* what vegetables *produce*. They themselves produce nothing; they can produce nothing directly from the mineral world; they are only consumers. The herbivorous animals take from vegetables the organized matter which these have produced; a part of it they consume, — in respiration chiefly, — restoring the materials to the atmosphere, from which plants derived them; in the very form, too, in which they were originally taken, namely, as carbonic acid and water; which is what all animals render to the air in breathing. Some of the carbon, as well as all the nitrogen, is restored to the air in other forms. That which herbivorous animals do not thus restore they accumulate in their tissues. This constitutes the food of carnivorous animals, who consume and return to the air the greater part during their life, and the remainder in decay, after death. This accomplishes the revolution. The atmosphere, out of which plants create nourishment, and to which animals, as they consume, return it, thus connects the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and completes the great cycle of organic existence. Organized nourishing matter passes through various stages in vegetables, is raised to a higher life in the herbivorous animals, and undergoes its ultimate transformations in carnivorous animals. Portions are lost (consumed) at every stage; and, dropping out of the ascending current, fall back to the mineral state; to which the whole, having completed the round, finally returns.

We may here incidentally notice a beautiful subsidiary arrangement in this great system, which has quite lately been happily explained by the English Cuvier, Professor Owen. In our broad view, we suppose the dead and decaying tissues, both of animals and vegetables, to be resolved entirely into inorganic matter before they again enter the ascending current of organization; and this, no doubt, is generally the case. But here an important auxiliary part — a labor-saving operation — is performed by the animalcules, or infusory animals. When we consider their almost incredible numbers, — their fossil remains, even, forming vast deposits in many parts of the world, — their universal distribution, their astonishingly rapid multiplication, their insatiable voracity, and that they devour and assimilate the particles

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of decomposing vegetable and animal bodies, in their downward career just about to escape from the organic system; we cannot doubt that they play some important part in the economy of nature, — nor long fail to perceive what that part is. Although they create no organized matter, yet they prevent the gradual diminution of that which already exists. For, as Professor Owen remarks,

"When organized matter is dissolved or suspended in water (as in any vegetable infusion, in the washings of the soil collected in pools, and streams, &c.) in that state of comminution and decay which immediately precedes its final decomposition into the elementary gases, and its consequent return from the organic to the inorganic world, the minute infusory animals, these wakeful members of nature's invisible police, are everywhere ready to arrest the fugitive organized particles, and turn them back into the ascending stream of animal life. Having converted such particles into their own living tissues, these animalcules become themselves the food of larger infusoria, and of numerous other small animals; which are, in turn, devoured by larger animals, such as fishes; and thus a *pabulum*, fit for the nourishment of the highest organized beings, is brought back, by a short route, from the extremity of the realms of organic matter." *

This is not the only instance in which the feeblest and apparently most insignificant instruments, such as animalcules wholly invisible to the naked eye, are made, by their immense multiplication, or by their continued agency through long periods of time, to accomplish the most important results. Mr. Owen's suggestion is the more interesting from its furnishing such a complete explanation of the vegetable source of the food of the countless tribes of aquatic and marine animals, thus removing the only difficulty that stood in the way of these generalizations. When we consider what an incalculable quantity of organized matter, dissolved or washed away by rain, is carried into our streams and rivers, and thence into the bosom of the all-absorbing ocean, we might be led to speculate upon the vast waste of material consequent upon the working even of this admirable terrestrial system. But the myriads of beings that animate the deep are nature's witnesses that she allows no such waste.

* *Lectures on the Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of the Invertebrate Animals.*

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When the farmers along our sterile coast manure their exhausted lands with fish, they merely reclaim their own, and bring back to the soil what has been washed into the sea.

But returning from this slight digression to the main topic, we must not omit to notice one of the most interesting, as it is one of the most recent, conclusions of chemico-physiological science; which carries out the leading idea, that the plant is an apparatus of production, to the fullest extent. It is now, perhaps, substantially proved, that plants not only furnish all the elements of the animal structure, but furnish each principal material ready-formed. Each constituent of the animal frame is prepared beforehand by the vegetable. The animal has only to appropriate it.

For example, the fat of an herbivorous animal is directly drawn from the oil and waxy matters which his vegetable food contains, and which pass, without essential chemical change, into the state of fat in the animal structure; there to be consumed, *burned*, indeed, in respiration, and so resolved into carbonic acid and water, just as it would have been if burned in our lamps. The fibrin, which constitutes the muscles or flesh of the animal, and much of the solid portion of his blood; the gelatine, of which the sinews and the organic part of the bones consist; and the casein, which forms the curd of cheese, — these are essentially the same as the gluten of flour, the legumine of beans; and they exist ready-formed in the seeds and herbage of the grass on which the animal feeds. Many plants, indeed, produce actual fibrin; it is a large ingredient of the milk of the famous *Palo de Vaca*, or Cow-tree of Caraccas, which contains all the constituents of that most important animal product; — a tree which serves as a substitute for kine to the whole neighbourhood. The earthy portion of his bones, and the iron in his blood, are equally drawn, ready-formed, from the earthy constituents of the vegetables upon which he feeds. The animal merely accumulates these materials, changing them, it may be, little by little, as he destroys them, but giving them all back finally to the earth and air. Literally, then, "all flesh is grass." The wants of the animal kingdom were all prospectively provided for, when to them was "given every green herb for meat."

Let us take a final glance at the general economy of organic nature, in its relations to man. Under this aspect,

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man is an interpolation. The whole system is perfect without him. It is independent of man, and might have gone on — as geologists assure us it did go on — for ages before his introduction upon the stage. But when man was at length introduced into this his temporary residence, and to him was "given dominion over" the organic world, he found a system in operation, every part of which he could turn to good account. The various influences of man upon the vegetable creation, and their consequences, form a subject much too wide and fruitful for present consideration. We barely advert to his relations to vegetation considered merely as furnishing nourishment.

Every other portion of creation, every species of plant or animal, stands in some particular part of the series, in more or less explicit relation to certain tribes upon which it feeds, and to certain others by which it is consumed. But omnivorous man steps in at each and every stage through which organic matter, or food, passes. Sometimes, interrupting the series at the initial step, he consumes the green and tender herb, or the foliage, — the very instrument for creating food. To subsist in this way, however, requires almost uninterrupted feeding. Possibly, men could thus subsist in the warmer climates; but a small number of them would require a large extent of territory, and even the lowest form of civilization would be unknown. Man, therefore, waits for the next step in vegetation; he allows the leaves to perform their office; and when they have accumulated a store of more concentrated nourishment in the root, as in the turnip, or in subterranean stems, as in the potato, or even in the leaves themselves, as in the cabbage, he seizes the deposit as his own.

For a larger part of his food he is content to wait still longer. He allows the plant to flower, and itself to use the accumulated store, and to deposit a large part of it anew in the fruit, and especially in the seed or grain; which furnishes to man his food in higher concentration than any other vegetable production. Grain, therefore, by affording leisure, is the parent of civilization. In the cereal grains we have the highest result of the vegetable kingdom, considered as furnishing nourishment. Nature's most beneficent gifts to man are wheat, rice, and maize; of which the two former were given, one to the cooler, the other to the hotter por-

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tions of the Old World; while the third was presented to the New. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *cerealia* have from the earliest times been regarded with a kind of religious reverence in every part of the world. The grain, indeed, contains no peculiar product, nothing that does not also exist in the herbage; it only contains these elements in the most concentrated form. A grain of maize or Indian corn — one of our own great staples, and the father of that ruder and imperfect civilization which preceded ours in the warmer parts of this continent — may serve to illustrate the manner in which each essential element of food is condensed in all the *cerealia*. The greater part of its bulk consists of starch, with other isomeric products, here accumulated for the early support of the enclosed embryo plant, when it struggles into life in germination; but which, when it becomes the farinaceous food of man and other animals, is in respiration resolved into its inorganic elements, with the evolution of heat. The outer portion of this farinaceous mass, as well as the embryo plant itself, is soaked in oil; the source of the fat in the animals which consume it. Throughout the whole is diffused the nitrogenized class of products, such as gluten, vegetable albumen, &c., which in the animal economy are turned at once into the fibrin of flesh or muscle, the gelatine of the bones and sinews. And, finally, in that part of the seed chiefly which belongs to the embryo plant itself — as Dr. Hayes and Dr. C. T. Jackson have shown — certain mineral ingredients are stored, such as the phosphates of lime and magnesia, which form the earthy part of the bones of animals, and the iron which performs an important function in the blood.

But man has still another resource, — one which he might possibly dispense with in tropical climes; though it is indispensable, if he would colonize the cooler parts of the world. To obtain his food in a still more concentrated form, he is obliged to call in the aid of his fellow-consumers in the animal kingdom. He makes the domestic animals graze for him, — an employment for which their ample stomachs and abundant leisure are well adapted; he even supplies them with esculent roots, fruits, and grain; and, in their flesh, he receives again his universal food, changed only in form, and in the greatest possible degree of concentration.

The question has often been warmly discussed, whether

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man is naturally herbivorous or carnivorous. But as his nourishment is essentially the same from whatever source derived, the question resolves itself into others, respecting the degree of concentration in which it is desirable he should receive his food, the very important effects of variety in diet, and whether it be intended that man should colonize the colder parts of the earth. Vegetable food may suffice within the tropics, and perhaps for warmly clad and inactive people in the temperate zones. To learn whether the natives of the colder parts of the world are intended to subsist directly upon vegetable food, we have only to compare the meagre crops of grain or of esculent roots, that can be raised north of fifty-five degrees of latitude, with the actual amount of food required to support life and health in the colder regions. For example ; in the last exploring journey to the shores of the Arctic Sea, — that of Simpson and Dease, — the daily ration of each man, when the supply allowed was from *eight to twelve pounds of venison!* And the agent of the North American Fur Company states, that the men employed in active service, when restricted to this aliment, consume some eight pounds of fresh meat a day, or ten pounds when the bones are included.

To whom is science indebted for the fine generalizations, some of which we have been attempting to exhibit, and for the discoveries upon which they are based ? Our remarks have already extended so far, that little space remains for answering this inquiry. But we may say, with Dumas, that the fruitful series of discovery commenced with Lavoisier, the father of modern chemistry. That Lavoisier clearly apprehended the all-essential influence of light to organic life will appear from the following sentence, which, for convenience, we cite from the translation of the Discourse of Dumas. "Organization, sensation, voluntary motion, life, only exist on the surface of the earth, and in places exposed to light. It might be said, indeed, that the fable of Prometheus was the expression of a philosophical truth, which had not escaped the penetration of the ancients. Without light, nature were without life and without soul; a beneficent God, in shedding light over creation, strewed the surface of the earth with organization, with sensation, and with thought." To Lavoisier must also be attributed the discovery of the true theory of respiration and animal heat. Respiration, he

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distinctly announced in the last volume of his Memoirs, is nothing more than a slow combustion of carbon and hydrogen, resembling that which takes place in a lamp; the atmosphere, as in all other cases, furnishing the oxygen, while the body and blood of the animal, which *burns* and *consumes*, supply the combustible matter; and the heat thus evolved maintains his elevated temperature. Hence, did not animals habitually replenish, by their food, the loss they constantly sustain in respiration, they would shortly die, as a lamp goes out when its oil is consumed. The torch of life is lighted when the child begins to breathe, is kept burning by the constant supply of aliment, and is finally extinguished in death. The obvious objection, that the lungs — the furnace where this combustion was supposed to be going on — should be warmer than the remote parts of the body, which is not the case, was long ago disposed of by the modified view of Lagrange, Vogel, Home, and Brande, and by the more recent confirmatory experiments of Bischoff and Magnus; which go to show, that the combustion takes place, not in the lungs, but in every part of the body to which the oxygen that supports it, absorbed in the lungs, is conveyed by the arterial circulation. Even the office of the red particles of the blood, as carriers of oxygen, of late so strikingly set forth by Liebig, was long since suggested by Sir Humphrey Davy.

We owe to Senebier the discovery of the opposite action of vegetables upon the air; namely, the decomposition of carbonic acid in the green parts of plants under the agency of the solar rays, and the evolution of its oxygen. But to Adolphe Brongniart belongs the credit of having, nearly twenty years ago, assigned the carbonic acid of the atmosphere as the source of all the carbon of plants, and consequently of animals. He developed this idea in the form of some very interesting geological speculations respecting the constitution of the atmosphere, and the state of organized existence in the earliest times. If all the carbon of existing plants and animals and their remains, as well as that which, gathered by vast primeval forests, is now buried in the bosom of the earth in the form of coal, — and, we may add, that in coral and in all the lime-rock to which marine animals have given rise, — if this immense quantity of carbon, previous to the creation of organized beings, was diffused through the air in the form

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of carbonic acid, it would follow, that our atmosphere, which now contains less than a thousandth part in volume of this gas, must then have contained a much larger proportion ; a proportion so large, probably, as to inhibit the existence of warm-blooded terrestrial animals. And accordingly, at the epoch of the coal formations, when vegetation must have had an extraordinary luxuriance, not a single terrestrial air-breathing animal appears to have existed. But when this ancient vegetation had withdrawn a large amount of carbonic acid from the air, and replaced it with an equal bulk of oxygen, a variety of air-breathing reptiles of monstrous size and form made their appearance ; animals which, from the nature of their respiration, are capable of living in much less pure air than is requisite for those of higher organization, of which they were the heralds and precursors. For it was not until after these vast stores of carbon had been abstracted from the air, and the retiring ocean and other causes allowed a larger portion of the earth's surface to be clothed with verdure, that a number of mammiferous animals, analogous to those now existing in the world, seem to have appeared upon its surface. At present, it is not probable that vegetation, in its *ensemble*, is accumulating carbon upon the earth's surface, and consequently increasing the proportion of oxygen in the air, to any considerable extent. The organic and inorganic forces must be nearly in equilibrium. By so much as vegetation tends to increase the proportion of oxygen, it also tends to increase both the energy of respiration in animals and the rapidity of the decomposition (oxygenation) of vegetable and animal remains, and the consequent restoration of the carbonic acid to the atmosphere, whence it was drawn. The agency of vegetation, having brought the air to that degree of purity which comports with the active respiration of warm-blooded animals, while, at the same time, it affords sufficient *pabulum* for plants, the opposing influences of these two orders of beings conspire to maintain the air in a state of stability.

May we not carry our speculations into the former constitution of the atmosphere a step further back ? May we not contemplate the physiological agency of vegetation, so early and largely introduced, as repairing the effects of an earlier physical operation, which must have greatly altered, in an opposite mode, the original constitution of the air ?

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As the earth's crust cooled down from the state of incandescence upon which geologists love to speculate, incalculable quantities of free oxygen must have been withdrawn from the air, and imprisoned in the oxydation of its mineral elements, with a force which no subsequent natural agency, at any rate upon a large scale, has been able to loosen. The vegetation which supervened, stimulated to high luxuriance by the fine *bottom heat* and reeking atmosphere of those times, began to repair this loss, by decomposing the carbonic acid of the air, and thus increasing the relative amount of its oxygen. Thus the beds of iron ore and of coal, which accompany and overlie each other upon the earth's rind, have withdrawn from the original atmosphere, the one a portion of its oxygen, the other a portion of its carbonic acid. When we would obtain the former in its primitive and useful state, we mingle the ore with the coal, and drive off the oxygen, surcharged with carbon, again into the air from which both originally came, by the aid of the heat which the vegetables that gathered the carbon had absorbed from the sun's rays.

This idea, that plants absorb light and heat — a true force — from the sun, as well as that they constitute a deoxydizing apparatus, reducing the oxydized products of animal life, is claimed by Dumas and Boussingault. The latter promulgated the opinion, that plants absorb light or caloric, in the year 1837. And Dumas sets forth the following *programme*, as exhibiting the doctrines of his discourse.

AN ANIMAL IS	A VEGETABLE IS
An apparatus of combustion.	An apparatus of reduction.
Possesses the faculty of locomotion.	Is fixed.
Burns carbon,	Reduces carbon,
hydrogen,	hydrogen,
ammonium.	ammonium.
Exhales carbonic acid,	Fixes carbonic acid,
water,	water,
oxide of ammonium,	oxide of ammonium,
azote or nitrogen.	azote or nitrogen.
Consumes oxygen,	Produces oxygen,
neutral azotized matters,	neutral azotized matters,
fatty materials,	fatty materials,
starch, sugar, gum, &c.	starch, sugar, gum, &c.

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Produces heat, electricity.	Absorbs heat. Abstracts electricity.
Restores its elements to the air or to the earth.	Derives its elements from the air or the earth.
Transforms organized into mineral matters.	Transforms mineral into organized matters.

That plants decompose water as well as carbonic acid, at least in certain operations, and liberate its oxygen, has recently been demonstrated by Boussingault. That vegetable tissue has the same identical composition as starch and other ternary organic products was first clearly proved by Payen. The mode in which these products are consumed and restored to the air by animals was popularly taught from about the same period (as early as 1839) by Liebig and the French chemists. The discovery of the part which ammonia plays in vegetation, as *one* principal source of the plant's azotized food, (for Liebig's statement, that it is the sole source of the nitrogen of plants, was too hasty,) is claimed for M. Schattenmann. The essential identity of vegetable albumen with animal albumen, and consequently the general identity of the quaternary azotized neutral products of plants and animals, was first shown by Mulder ; who deduced the important consequence, " that the great mass of animal substances is supplied by the vegetable kingdom." The discovery of fibrin, as such, — the very material of the flesh of animals, — in the juices and fruits of certain esculent plants, was long ago made by Vauquelin ; its presence in wheat-flour has recently been ascertained by Dumas.

That the fat of herbivorous animals is directly drawn, like their other constituents, ready-formed, from their vegetable food, has been strenuously taught by Dumas, Boussingault, and Payen, and is amply confirmed, as to the general fact, by a variety of experiments and direct observations, which our limits forbid us to notice. Professor Liebig maintains, on the contrary, as our readers are well aware, that the fat of animals is produced by a transformation of the starch, sugar, &c., of their food. During the last year or two, a very piquant discussion upon this subject has been carried on between the Giessen and the Parisian chemists ; which has ended in the confirmation of an old observation of Hubert, that bees have the power of producing wax when fed upon sugar alone ; whence it follows, that ordinary herbivorous

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animals *may* produce fat from similar materials. But on the other hand, the French chemists have pretty clearly made out, that the fat of animals ordinarily comes directly from the oil and wax of their herbivorous food.

Another interesting question remains, which we have reserved to the last, because it is one which has particularly occupied the attention of Professor Draper, and forms the *gist* of his elaborate volume "on the forces which produce the organization of plants." The sunbeams contain light, and heat, and chemical, or, as Dr. Draper would say, *tithonic* rays. Which of these are the efficient agents in vegetable digestion? Which, in other words, enable the green foliage to reduce carbonic acid, and create organic matter? The old experiments of Senebier, the discoverer of this agency of light in vegetable digestion, as well as some recent researches of Mr. Hunt in England, seemed to show, that the violet and blue rays are most efficient; from which it was inferred, — as, indeed, would *a priori* be supposed, — that it is the chemical rays of the sunbeam which exert this wonderful power. This has ever been the prevailing opinion, and is taken for granted by Dumas. Observing that when he attempted to depict foliage by the *daguerrotype*, the green parts were not represented, Dumas remarks, that "it is as if the whole of the chemical rays essential to the photographic phenomenon had disappeared, had been absorbed and retained by the leaf. It would seem, therefore, that the chemical rays of light vanish entirely in the green parts of the plants; an extraordinary absorption, but easily explicable, when the enormous expenditure of chemical force necessary to decompose so stable a substance as carbonic acid is considered."

On the other hand, the experiments instituted some years ago by Professor Morren in Belgium, and Professor Daubeny in England, led them to the conclusion, that the yellow or most luminous rays, or, in other words, that light, strictly so called, was the efficient agent. Their experiments were made by exposing plants to sunlight transmitted through colored glass; a mode liable to obvious objections. To Dr. Draper belongs the credit of having devised and practised a much better mode of performing the experiment, namely, by exposing foliage in the solar spectrum itself to the influence of the different colors, and measuring the activ-

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ity of vegetable digestion, or the amount of carbonic acid decomposed, by the quantity of oxygen gas evolved. And to eliminate the heat and chemical rays, he also employed those colored media which absorb in their passage the greater portion of these constituents of the sunbeam. The results he obtained confirm those of Morren and Daubeny, namely, that yellow or *luminous light* is the agent in vegetable digestion. They may, perhaps, be considered decisive on this point; for Mr. Hunt's experiments relate rather to the influence of light upon germination and the development of the green color, than directly upon the formation of vegetable tissue.

In whatever way this question may be settled, it advances us but a short distance towards the solution of the great problem, "*how* light acts in producing organization," to which Dr. Draper's volume is professedly devoted. But the whole that it really contains on the subject — all that it contributes to our former stock of knowledge or opinion — is embraced in the following hypothesis, which, so far as we know, has the merit of entire originality.

"The very remarkable qualities which certain nitrogenized substances are known to exhibit, acting as ferments as they are undergoing decay, might lead to the supposition, that the decomposition of carbonic acid by leaves is due to the action of some nitrogenized body, the eremacausis of which is promoted by the rays of the sun." — p. 182.

And again,

"There are many facts which go to prove, that the decomposition of carbonic acid is a secondary result, brought about by the action of nitrogenized ferment in a state of eremacausis, the sunlight operating in the first instance upon the ferment itself." — p. 183.

These facts, however, all resolve themselves into one, namely, the evolution of a quantity of nitrogen by leaves; which has long been known, but which has always been supposed to arise from the mechanical escape of a portion of the free nitrogen gas, necessarily absorbed, as we have seen, with the water which the roots imbibe. But Dr. Draper endeavours to show, that the quantity exhaled is much too large for such origin; and the results of his experiments (paragraphs 812–818) are certainly not only extraordinary in themselves, but in more than one respect apparently ir-

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reconcilable with those of Boussingault. "Its true source," he concludes, "is only to be sought in some nitrogenized compound present in the leaf, which is undergoing decomposition in some regulated way"; and upon this ferment he supposes that the light acts, to incite the decomposition of carbonic acid in vegetable digestion.

Surely, a bold theory is here built upon a very narrow, not to say an unsubstantial, basis; and when constructed, it helps us very little in the way of explanation. With due deference, therefore, we must still continue to believe, that the essential phenomenon of vegetable growth is something very different from the working of beer. No hypothesis could well involve a higher intrinsic improbability. It consists of Liebig's doctrine of fermentation, misapplied, as we think, to a case of a radically different order. Fermentation, germination, &c., are destructive processes; vegetable digestion is a creative process. In the former, vegetable tissue and vegetable products are *decomposed* and carbonic acid *formed*; in the latter, on the contrary, carbonic acid is *decomposed* and vegetable tissue and products are *formed*. Is it probable, that two such diametrically opposite processes as the formation and the destruction of organic matter are owing to the same or similar causes? that the gluten or albumen, which in the germinating grain of wheat incites the decomposition of vegetable tissue, starch, and sugar, and their resolution into carbonic acid and water, should in the leaf give rise to exactly the reverse effects, — the decomposition of carbonic acid and water, and the production of vegetable tissue, starch, and sugar? Besides, the formation of the nitrogenized products themselves is one of the essential results of vegetable digestion. Can their formation, then, be due to a process which in the first place involves their destruction? We will only add, that this hypothesis is open to another, by no means uncommon, objection; that of leaving the matter to be explained less plain than before. Framed purposely to explain the action of light on the foliage, it renders the phenomenon more obscure than ever, by gratuitously connecting it with a process (that of fermentation) which goes on quite as well in the dark.

We have taken special notice of this point, because it is the only one in the chemico-physiological portion of Professor Draper's volume, excepting the experiments upon

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vegetable digestion with the solar spectrum, that strikes us as new, — and with the purely physical part we are not disposed to meddle. We must except, however, the annunciation of the discovery, that "*the rays of the sun are the true nervous principle of plants!*" (pp. 102, 206, etc.,) an idea which is seriously maintained in a full and eminently verbose chapter. Thus this obscure subject is rendered as clear as daylight. Some modern physiologists have been vainly searching for the traces of a nervous system in the plant itself. They should have looked to the sunshine; unless, indeed, moonshine would do as well. Noteworthy, also, is the intimation, that our Indian summer — long a puzzle to philosophers — is owing to the heat evolved by the decaying foliage of the season! p. 93.

Dutrochet's explanation of the rise and circulation of the sap in plants by what he called *endosmosis*, and the reduction of this latter power to the general laws of capillarity and interdiffusion by Professor Graham and others, leave no novelty in Dr. Draper's very detailed chapter upon that subject; except in the proposition, — the truth of which we must still be permitted to doubt, — that the exhalation of the sap in the leaves exerts no essential influence upon its rise in the stem.

Chemists are naturally prone to magnify their office, and to explain almost every thing in the animal and vegetable economy upon chemical principles. In their views, frequently, the vital force — the organizing principle that animates the living body and controls its formation — plays nearly the same subordinate part as the Supreme Being in the system of the Brahmins. The latter admit the existence of a supreme deity, but suppose that he remains in a state of holy obscurity and inertness. The chemists kindly allow, that there may be such a thing as a vital force in the abstract, but are too apt to consider it a superfluity. At least, they would leave it nothing to do. But Dr. Draper is more hardy, and denies its existence altogether.

"In this work, the existence of the vital force of physiologists — as a homogeneous and separate force — is uniformly denied. Living structures, far from being the product of one such homogeneous power, are rather the resultants of the action of a multitude of natural forces. Gravity, cohesion, elasticity, the agency of the imponderables, and all other powers which

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operate both on masses and atoms, are called into action, and hence it is, that the very evolution of a living form depends on the condition, that all these various agents conspire. There is no mystery in animated beings, which time will not at last reveal." — p. 2.

Not only are living beings the result of the action or equilibrium of a great variety of common purely physical forces, — if we rightly apprehend the statement, — but the living body offers no more or other resistance to these physical forces than a dead carcass. For "it is a vulgar error," says our author, "that a living being possesses a principle of resistance to external agents, while a dead one submits to them; both equally change, or, of the two, the living one putrefies and changes the more rapidly." (p. 6.) "Life and vitality figure away in these visionary speculations [the theories of physiologists] as though they were realities." (p. 41.) If, indeed, vital, as distinguished from common physical, forces have no existence, we may as well admit the doctrine with which the following sentence concludes. "What, then, are the final impressions left upon our minds by these general considerations? They teach us, that life never occurs except in regions to which the imponderable agents can have access, an observation which is equally true of vegetable and of animal forms; *that elementary organization directly or indirectly arises from the plastic agency of those all-pervading forces.*" (p. 14.) Surely, the author would disclaim the inference which he here seems to invite.

The scientific readers of Dr. Draper's large volume will find themselves as much mistaken as we were, if they suppose, that, although addressed to chemical philosophers, it is actually filled with original contributions to science. These, if separately presented, would occupy but a moderate space. Indeed, from the discursive and tropically luxuriant style, and from the particularity with which the author enters upon the most detailed explanations of perfectly trite and elementary matters, we should imagine that the treatise may have been originally prepared, and have done service, in the form of popular lectures to medical students. The introductory chapter, in particular, though well enough adapted for that purpose, an ill-natured critic might compare to an *omelette soufflée*, of which Dumas and Cuvier may have furnished

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the egg, Humboldt, Lyell, and others, the condiment, and Dr. Draper the intumescence.

The author's ingenious views on the rise of the sap in plants, and the circulation in animals, are prefaced by an elementary treatise on capillary attraction. Before we reach his proper observations on the action of light upon foliage, we have two very diffuse chapters to undergo, on the solar spectrum in general, Newton's theory of colors, the calorific and the chemical rays, and a great variety of elementary matters, with which a philosopher of the lowest acquirements might be presumed familiar, or for which, if he would refresh his school-boy recollections, he might turn to his forgotten text-books. And when at length the interesting experiment comes to be described, (the substance of which we have given in a former page,) the reader's attention is directed, not so much to the point which it was intended to prove, as to the gaudy tints that are reflected by the apparatus upon the wall of the room.

"This prismatic experiment is one of the most beautiful objects which organic chemistry can offer, carried on in a chamber which would be totally dark, were it not for the intensely colored curves which are cast upon the walls by reflection from the tubes, — curves which often are many yards in length, indicating by their gaudy tints and brilliancy the intensity of the sun's light. The tubes and the vegetable leaves glow with the colors in which they are immersed. Meantime the most interesting phenomenon which can be witnessed is silently going forward; dead and inanimate matter is, under the influence of the plastic beam, putting on the form of organization and life." — p. 64.

This reminds us of one of the newspaper articles, emanating from an American observatory, upon the great comet of 1843, about the time of its first appearance. The observer, unfortunately, did not see the comet for which he was searching; but he filled his page with a glowing account of the twilight, and with some miscellaneous observations on the fixed stars.

And, finally, when the nervous principle of plants is considered, — and what that is our readers are already informed, — we are treated, by way of introduction, with a particular account of *the five senses;* of which the following may serve as a specimen.

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"The optic nerve, which gathers on its retinal expansion the images of outward forms, transmits them to the brain. To that cerebral tract to which it goes, the power is given to be affected by luminous agency; it is immaterial whether that agency consists of undulations of an ethereal medium, or spends itself in producing a chemical change of the retina. The *portio mollis* of the seventh pair, also, exposes itself in the cochlea of the ear, and having the function of audition committed to it, vibrates correspondingly to those oscillatory movements which constitute sound. So, too, with the olfactory nerve, which, pushing its way through the cribiform plate of the ethmoid bone, expands in a million of ramified branches on the Schneiderian membrane, and is ready to be impressed by odors or smells. There is no such thing as a mutual convertibility of the offices of these different machines; no vicarious interchange of action; each one has its own duty to perform, each has to discharge its proper task, and the construction of each is suitably arranged. In human contrivances, the same necessity of result arises; the telescope will not answer for a piano, nor a piano for a telescope." — p. 100.

Why did not our author add the classical illustration, *Οὐ γὰρ σύριγγα κέρκου τοῦ χοίρου ποιητέον* ? Surely, the doctrine of an ancient *savant*, one Bottom, "The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report," — opposed although it has been in these Mesmeric days, — is now incontrovertibly established. Again:

"The nervous and optical mechanism of the eye is so arranged as to have entire charge of the reception of impressions conveyed by the luminiferous ether; the auditory mechanism of the ear is constituted so as to receive undulations of gaseous bodies like atmospheric air; and, correspondingly, if intelligence has to be communicated to a distance, and received by other minds through the agency of a visual organ, the motor nerves of the hand are put in action, the fingers move, and letters appear upon the paper." — p. 101.

But the number of these letters is sometimes out of all proportion to the amount of intelligence communicated.

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ART. VII. — 1. *Commerce of the Prairies : or the Journal of a Santa Fé Trader, during eight Expeditions across the great Western Prairies, and a Residence of nearly nine Years in Northern Mexico.* Illustrated by Maps and Engravings. By JOSIAH GREGG. New York : Henry G. Langley. 1844. 2 vols. 12mo.

2. *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition ; comprising a Description of a Tour through Texas, and across the great Southwestern Prairies, the Camanche and Caygua Hunting-grounds ; with an Account of the Sufferings from Want of Food, Losses from hostile Indians, and final Capture of the Texans, and their March, as Prisoners, to the City of Mexico.* With Illustrations and a Map. By GEO. WILKINS KENDALL. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1844. 2 vols. 12mo.

MR. GREGG'S book is obviously not the production of a very practised writer. The interest of his narrative is in some degree impaired by introducing episodes by way of illustration, and by combining details belonging to different years, with the laudable view of giving all his information in the smallest possible compass. There are so few writers who have sufficient heroism to sacrifice any materials they may chance to have on hand, that we cannot find it in our hearts to censure him for this ; and the want of a more lively and continuous narrative is compensated by his obvious desire to give full and just views of the subjects which he treats. He was actively engaged, for many years, in the commerce between the United States and the northern provinces of Mexico. In the prosecution of this commerce, he has traversed the vast intervening regions, till the incidents of life and travel on the prairies have become familiar to him as his fireside ; perhaps a little more so, as he acknowledges, that it is only in the Far West that he really feels himself at home. His personal adventures, however, were not attended with much peril, and the subject has of late been rendered in some degree familiar by more practised writers. We are much more interested in those portions of the work, in which he gives the results of his observations in New Mexico, and relates the origin and progressof the trade to which we have alluded.

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No better illustration could be given of the daring and ever-active enterprise which distinguishes the Americans even more than the race from which they sprang, than is to be found in the history of this over-land commerce with New Mexico. In its conception and general character, it is a revival of the caravan trade of the East. Before it began, that country had depended for its supplies of all commodities other than its own on the ports of Mexico, with which the communications were slow and far from easy. James Pursley, in 1805, was the first American adventurer who found his way across the wilderness to Santa Fé; and the heart of this trading pilgrim must have been as stout as that ascribed by Horace to the navigator who first launched his bark upon the sea; for it does not appear that he had any other companions than some Indians, whom he encountered on his way. But the same enterprise had been safely accomplished during the preceding year, by a French Creole, named La Lande, who went as the agent of a merchant of Kaskaskia. Neither of these hardy adventurers appears to have returned to tell the story of his perils. Pursley remained in Santa Fé some years; his subsequent history is not known, though there is no reproach resting on his character. But the Frenchman forgot to render an account to his employer, and became a prosperous gentleman with the aid of the capital so dishonestly obtained. Captain, afterwards General, Pike's account of his well known expedition, which was begun in 1806, gave the first impulse to enterprise in this direction. By pursuing the course which he had pointed out, a party found their way, in 1812, to Santa Fé, supposing that Hidalgo's declaration of independence, two years before, had removed the restrictions imposed by the royal government upon the trade; but before they reached their destination, independence was prostrate, and royalism once more in the ascendant; their goods were confiscated, and they were imprisoned and detained for a long period as spies. Other attempts were subsequently made, some of which were attended with disaster, and some with tolerable success. It is from the year 1822, that Mr. Gregg is disposed to date the real opening of the trade; wheeled vehicles, the introduction of which gave it an importance it could never otherwise have had, were first employed in 1824.

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The town of Franklin, on the Missouri, about one hundred and fifty miles above St. Louis, was first selected by the traders as a place of gathering and outfit. Afterwards the village of Independence was preferred, having the recommendation of being a hundred miles higher up the river, and of saving to that extent the expense and labor of land-carriage. The caravans usually took their departure from this place in May. In the early part of the month, adventurers might be seen flocking thither from all quarters, some bent on high schemes of commercial speculation, some in pursuit of health, and some induced only by an instinctive desire to get a little farther west; but all busy in making preparations for the work before them, and in procuring the stores which would be looked for in vain beyond the borders. Thence they proceeded in separate detachments one hundred and fifty miles farther on, to Council Grove; where the caravans were organized into something resembling a military array. A captain was first chosen, who had just as much authority as he could extort, or his subordinates might think proper to allow; the caravan was then arranged in several divisions, with a lieutenant over each, to make suitable arrangements for encampment every evening, and for the crossing of the creeks and rivers. The caravan which Mr. Gregg first accompanied, in 1831, consisted of nearly a hundred wagons, besides several smaller vehicles, and two small pieces of artillery mounted upon carriages; the whole efficient force numbering about two hundred men. About one half of the wagons were drawn by ox-teams, and the rest by mules. The value of the merchandise thus conveyed and guarded was about two hundred thousand dollars. Notwithstanding the military precautions taken for security, there was nothing soldier-like in the armament or costume of the party; these were such as the taste or means of each individual might dictate. With so formidable an array, little was to be apprehended from the Indians, who have an ungovernable propensity for stealing, but do not care to indulge it at the risk of life.

We cannot follow Mr. Gregg in his journey, which those who know the usual pace of oxen will not suppose could be a very rapid one, but come with him at once to its termination in the autumn. The first settlement of consequence which he entered was that of San Miguel, a congregation of

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hovels with walls of mud, about fifty miles distant from Santa Fé. Leaving this place, and pursuing his way, he came in sight of extensive corn-fields, with many of what he imagined to be brick-kilns, scattered in every direction. This was the goodly capital of Santa Fé itself; hailed by the traveller, after his long and weary journey, with a degree of joy, for which it was by no means indebted to its architectural beauty. Nor is the arrival of the caravan a matter of trifling interest to the fair of Santa Fé; as may be imagined, when it is remembered, that it is to them what the arrival of the latest Paris fashions is in some other regions. Great is the preparation made by the wagoners to present themselves in the overpowering beauty of their Sunday suits, with clean faces and sonorous whip-lashes, before the bright eyes, which are probably bent with less keen interest on them than on the contents of their packages; but nothing in the form of mortal beauty has power to withdraw the thoughts of the merchants from the absorbing subject of a safe and early passage through the custom-house. The ordinary rate of duties is enormously high; twice as great, at least, as the cost of the goods. This is not for the purpose of protection, — as it does not appear that the New Mexicans have many manufactories of their own to be protected, — or to carry out any economical theories; but it is owing to an enlightened desire on the part of the authorities to get as much as they possibly can, without suffering a matter so trifling as the welfare of the people to enter as an element into the calculation. It so happens, however, that the worthies of the custom-house exercise a sort of dispensing power, in the form of "an arrangement," the terms of which are settled without much difficulty; in some instances, we are assured by Mr. Gregg, on the authority of rumor, a composition of this kind is effected: the legal duties are divided into three equal parts, of which the officers, by way of compensation for their trouble in the business, keep one; another goes to the merchants; and the third is scrupulously reserved for the government. For a few years, Governor Armijo of Santa Fé, the odor of whose name was far from savory to foreigners, imposed a tariff of duties, which was remarkable for its beautiful simplicity; ordaining that the sum of five hundred dollars should be paid for every wagon-load, whether great or small, or consisting of cheap or costly merchandize.

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The traders at once entered into the spirit of this meritorious financial scheme, by excluding all coarse and weighty articles from their cargoes, and prosecuting the trade with huge vehicles, drawn by nearly a dozen mules; till his Excellency found it expedient to abandon his experiments, and return to the established system. The amount of duties collected annually at the port of Santa Fé is from fifty to eighty thousand dollars, of which, according to Mr. Gregg, about one half is received by the government, and the other adheres to the pockets of the officers of the customs.

We have spoken of this commerce as already in existence, and, from some statements in the public papers, we suppose that it is renewed. It is well known, however, that, owing to the murder of a respectable citizen of New Mexico by a lawless band, partly from Texas, and partly from our own frontier, and to an expedition undertaken by Texas, which the Mexican government chose to consider as proceeding from the United States, the ports of New Mexico and Chihuahua were closed by a decree of Santa Anna, early in the last year. Whether this decree is now rescinded or not, it obviously cannot long continue; the people of New Mexico will probably not be slow to calculate the value of an union, which makes them suffer for the evil deeds of others. Mr. Gregg gives us some interesting details, showing the extent to which this trade has been prosecuted within the last twenty-two years. The value of the merchandise transported in 1843 is estimated at 450,000 dollars; this sum being its cost in the Atlantic cities. In addition to the cost of freight and insurance to Independence, a further investment, equal, perhaps, to one fourth part of the original amount, was required to cover the expense of transportation to Santa Fé. This merchandise belonged to thirty proprietors, a majority of whom were New Mexicans; several of these having engaged in the trade within the last few years, and probably enjoying some advantages which are denied to foreigners. Two hundred and thirty wagons, and three hundred and fifty men, were employed in the transportation; the actual cost of which may be inferred from the fact, that freighters are to be found on the Missouri frontier, who will undertake to convey goods to Santa Fé for ten or twelve cents a pound, and from Santa Fé to Chihuahua, for six or eight cents more. The gross amount of the sales has rarely exceeded

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fifty *per cent.* advance on the cost of the merchandise, giving a profit to the trader of between twenty and forty *per cent.*; sometimes, however, the profit has been less than ten *per cent.*, and there have been instances, in which adventures have been attended with positive loss. Within the last thirteen years, no trader has been killed by the Indians, and few animals have been stolen from the caravans. There is little reason to doubt, that a good understanding with the government of Mexico might place this commerce on a footing of benefit and importance to both countries; the only reason why it has maintained itself so long, in the face of the advantages enjoyed by British merchants in the Mexican seaports, is, that a preference is universally given to goods of American manufacture.

The geographical position of New Mexico is not favorable to that progress in the arts of life, which results from free communication with other states. It is surrounded by barriers, presenting far greater obstacles to the traveller than the broadest sea; chains of mountains and desert prairies extend on every side but that which looks towards Chihuahua, from which it is divided by a wilderness extending nearly two hundred miles. Water communication there is absolutely none; not a single navigable stream is to be found; even the Rio del Norte, during the greater portion of the year, has hardly water sufficient for a bark canoe, and is obstructed by shoals and rapids for more than a thousand miles below Santa Fé. Opposite Taos, this river runs for a space of fifteen miles, with a rapid current, through a deep chasm, whose walls rise on each side in frightful precipices, from the verge of which it requires the firmest nerve to look down without dismay. From its source in the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Mexico, an extent of more than two thousand miles, it is not navigable for more than a tenth part of the distance. This great disadvantage of position is in some degree balanced by the clearness of the sky, and the salubrity of the climate; but the benefits of these are not enjoyed by a very numerous population; the whole number of inhabitants, Creoles, mixed Creoles, and Pueblos, being estimated by Mr. Gregg at about seventy thousand, or about one to every three square miles of territory; of these, the city of Santa Fé contains about six thousand. Agriculture, owing to the necessity of frequent irrigation, is princi-

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pally confined to the borders of the few streams where water can be found throughout the year; nor can it be expected to flourish, in the absence of the means of transportation. The principal wealth of the proprietors consists in their extensive flocks and herds, which are maintained in excellent condition by the pasturage upon the elevated table-lands.

Under a different government, the mines of New Mexico might become important, as they appear to have been in former times; but the aversion generally entertained towards foreigners is such, that no aid can be derived from abroad to work them, and the natives are too ignorant to do it with much profit. No silver mines have been wrought within the last century; and the present product of the gold mines is quite small. There are ruins, however, which indicate that it has not been always so; those of La Gran Quivira, about one hundred miles south of Santa Fé, are the remains of a city, evidently far superior in extent and opulence to the present capital. Walls, particularly those of churches, built of hewn stone, a material which finds no place in the existing architecture of New Mexico, still stand erect in silence and desolation; and cisterns and remains of aqueducts, through an extent of eight or ten miles, show that the supply of water must have been obtained from the surrounding mountains, the nearest source from which it could have been derived. Some have regarded these as the remains of an aboriginal city; but Mr. Gregg, with apparent reason, supposes them to be of Spanish origin, and to have been indebted for their superiority to the neighbourhood of a productive mine. Some traditional accounts render it probable, that the city was depopulated in 1680, when a general insurrection took place of the native tribes against the Spaniards. Lead of an inferior quality is also found, copper in considerable quantity, and iron in abundance. Mr. Gregg gives the following account of the *salinas*, or salt lakes:

"Near a hundred miles southward from the capital, on the high table-land between the Rio del Norte and Pecos, there are some extensive salt-ponds, which afford an inexhaustible supply of this indispensable commodity, not only for the consumption of this province, but for portions of the adjoining departments. The largest of these *Salinas* is five or six miles in circumference. The best time to collect the salt is during the dry season, when the lakes contain but little water; but even when flooded,

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salt may be scooped up from the bottom, where it is deposited in immense beds, in many places of unknown depth, and, when dried, much resembles the common alum salt. The best, however, which is of superior quality, rises as a scum upon the water. A great many years ago, a firm causeway was thrown up through the middle of the principal lake, upon which the *carretas* and mules are driven, and loaded with salt still dripping with water. The *Salinas* are public property, and the people resort to them several times a year, in caravans, for protection against the savages of the desert in which they are situated. Although this salt costs nothing but the labor of carrying it away, the danger from the Indians, and the privations experienced in an expedition to the *Salinas* are such, that it is seldom sold in the capital for less than a dollar per bushel. On the same great plain, still a hundred miles further south, there is another *Salina* of the same character."

We pass over the account given by our author of the usages and manners of the present population of New Mexico, in order to turn to his description of the *Pueblos*, or villages composed of descendants of the native tribes, who have adopted the religion of their conquerers. At the time of the conquest, they are believed to have been quite numerous, occupying at least a hundred villages ; but the number of their villages is now reduced to twenty. They are a sober and industrious race, — given to few vices, except such as they have borrowed from the Spaniards, — by far the best horticulturists who are to be found in the country, and many of them owners of large numbers of horses and cattle. Their present number is believed not to exceed ten thousand. Each Pueblo is governed by a *cacique* or *gobernadocillo*, chosen by the inhabitants, but receiving his commission from the governor of New Mexico. Whenever any public business is to be transacted, the principal chiefs of the Pueblo are convened by the cacique, usually under ground, and all questions are decided by vote. Their proceedings are kept profoundly secret ; a good device for protecting the meeting from the infliction of interminable speeches. All subjects appertaining to the police of the village, and the preservation of morality and order, are within their jurisdiction. To them also belongs the right of electing a *capitan de guerra*, or commander, who is expected to defend the public interests alike in the council-chamber and the field. The people,

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though not deficient in bravery, have no strong passion for war; such an inclination could hardly exist in connection with their habitual industry; but when engaged in hostilities, they are said to be ferocious and cruel, not, however, beyond the fashion and example of their Mexican neighbours. Since the period of the conquest, they appear to have degenerated; in the arts, the manufacture of cotton and woollen for example, they are inferior to their ancestors, as well as to the tribes that still retain their liberty.

Mr. Gregg devotes a considerable portion of his work to an account of his visit for commercial purposes to the department of Chihuahua, and its places of most prominent interest. This, with a geographical account of the prairies, and a general description of the Indians of the frontier and the prairies, occupies his second volume. The following account of a part of his Chihuahua expedition will give the reader an idea of his style :

"About twelve miles south of Carrizal there is one of the most charming warm springs, called Ojo Caliente, where we arrived the next day. It forms a basin some thirty feet long by about half that width, and just deep and warm enough for a delightful bath at all seasons of the year. Were this spring (whose outlet forms a bold little rivulet) anywhere within the United States, it would doubtless be converted into a place of fashionable resort. There appears to be a curious phenomenon connected with this spring. It proceeds, no doubt, from the little river of Cármen, which passes within half a mile, and finally discharges itself into the small lake of Patos before mentioned. All the water of this stream disappears in the sand several miles above the spring; and what medium it traverses in its subterranean passage to impart to it so high a temperature, before breaking out in this fountain, would afford to the geologist an interesting subject of inquiry.

"After fording the Rio Cármen, which, though usually without a drop of water in its channel, we now found a very turbulent stream, we did not meet with any object particularly worthy of remark, until we reached the *Laguna de Encillinas.* This lake is ten or twelve miles long by two or three in width, and seems to have no outlet, even during the greatest freshets, though fed by several small constant-flowing streams from the surrounding mountains. The water of this lake, during the dry season, is so strongly impregnated with nauseous and bitter salts, as to render it wholly unpalatable to man and beast. The most

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predominant of these noxious substances is a species of alkali, known there by the name of *tequesquite.* It is often seen oozing out from the surface of marshy grounds, about the table-plains of all Northern Mexico, forming a grayish crust, and is extensively used in the manufacture of soap, and sometimes by the bakers even for raising bread. Here we had another evidence of the alarming effects of the recent flood, the road for several miles along the margin of the lake being completely inundated. It was, however, in the city of Chihuahua itself that the disastrous consequences of the freshet were most severely felt. Some inferior houses of *adobe* were so much soaked by the rains, that they tumbled to the ground, occasioning the loss of several lives." — Vol. II., pp. 80, 81.

Mr. Kendall's account of his adventures is already so generally known, through the medium of the public journals, that it is unnecessary to relate in much detail the circumstances to which he was indebted for much inconvenience and suffering, and his readers for his lively and entertaining volumes. Early in 1841, partly in consequence of impaired health, and partly impelled by a desire to have some experience of life in the wilderness, he resolved to undertake a tour upon the prairies. An agent of the government of Texas chanced to be at that time in New Orleans, where Mr. Kendall resided, with the view of purchasing supplies for an expedition to Santa Fé. The president, General Lamar, had received information, that the inhabitants of that portion of New Mexico which lies on the eastern side of the Rio Grande, claimed by Texas as her western boundary, were anxious to throw off their allegiance to Mexico ; and this expedition appears to have been designed to produce a revolution there, or, as it was more gently expressed, to give them an opportunity of throwing off the yoke ; but its ostensible purpose was, to open a direct trade with Santa Fé by a nearer route than the one usually pursued through the United States. To this end, the members of the expedition were to go prepared to act as soldiers or traders, as circumstances might render most convenient. The military alternative was not made known to Mr. Kendall until the expedition was fairly on its way to Santa Fé. In an evil hour, he attached himself to this ill-starred company, supposing that it might afford the facilities for sport and adventure of which he was in quest ; and he thus became the sharer of their fate. Mr.

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Kendall is persuaded, that the expedition went forth with no hostile purpose against Mexico, and was provided with no greater armament than defence against the savages required. But he himself tells us, that, "on its arrival at its destined points, should the inhabitants really manifest a disposition to declare their full allegiance to Texas, the flag of the single-star republic would have been raised upon the government-house at Santa Fé"; and surely it is by no means marvellous, that Mexico should not regard this as a very friendly purpose; or, considering the relations subsisting between herself and Texas, should look upon such trading propositions as the Trojans looked upon the presents of the Greeks.

Mr. Kendall reached Galveston on the 19th of May. This was about a month before the expedition was ready for departure, and he employed the intervening time in seeing all he could of Texas. He has recorded the results of his observations in several chapters, to which circumstances since occurring have given greater interest than they possessed at the time of their publication, when the plan of our fraternization with its citizens had not become matter of earnest negotiation. Two hundred and seventy volunteers, divided into six companies, constituted the array, and they were accompanied by about fifty others, including General McLeod, the commander, and his staff, together with the Texan commissioners, merchants, tourists, and servants. Their tour through the wilderness was long and arduous, though not without scenes and incidents which afforded the author an opportunity for much animated and picturesque description. After passing, not without difficulty, the "Cross Timbers," a vast forest, from thirty to fifty miles in width, constituting, for hundreds of miles, the border which separates the western prairies from the woodlands of the settled parts of the United States, they reached, as they supposed, the Red River; and were confirmed in the supposition by a Mexican of their party, who professed himself familiarly acquainted with that stream. Whether he misled them intentionally, or not, does not appear; but, if he had been hired by his countrymen to betray his new associates, he could not have better served their purpose. Day after day, they went on under this erroneous persuasion, until they had come, as they supposed, within about eighty miles

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of San Miguel ; there, a party of three persons were sent forward to procure supplies and inquire into the state of feeling in that quarter, while the main body quietly pursued its way. Some doubt of the correctness of their course began to dawn upon them ; but suffering, as they were, from hunger and thirst, and at a loss what direction to pursue, it was resolved to divide the party, by sending out a detachment of one hundred men, mounted, with instructions not to return until they should find the settlements. A more unfortunate measure could not well have been adopted ; it is hardly credible, that the officers should have been so deluded as to the reception they were likely to encounter at their journey's end. Mr. Kendall accompanied this detachment. Thus, in separate divisions, the whole company were marching to their doom ; the Mexicans, with honeyed words and professions of eternal friendship, first disarming, and then securing them as prisoners ; giving them the full benefit of the earlier experience of Sir John Hawkins, and the later fortune of General Pike.

Mr. Kendall maintains his good humor and liveliness so well, while encountering the various trials, some serious ones, too, of his passage of the prairies, that we regret our inability to present to our readers several of his animated sketches. Those who are at all acquainted with the prairies will understand the danger he describes in the following passage. He had, in company with a veteran hunter, pursued some deer, without being aware, that, when they once take the alarm, they can rarely be approached within gunshot.

" My experience, in comparison with that of the veteran borderer, was limited, and I was simple enough not to resist the temptation of following the herd over a roll of the prairie, in the vain hope of obtaining a shot. They halted, as I supposed they would, but were on the look-out; and before I was within three hundred yards, again bounded off across the prairie. Hope induced me to give one more trial, which terminated like the first. I now reluctantly gave up the chase, and cast my eyes about for my fellow-hunter ; but he was nowhere in sight. I tried hurriedly to ascertain the direction in which I had left him ; but the result of my reflections convinced me that I was, to use a common expression, thoroughly ' turned round,' — lost. I put spurs to my horse and galloped to the highest roll of the prairie,

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with the hope of obtaining a sight of my companion or companions, but without success.

"A sickening feeling of loneliness came over me, on *finding* myself in that worst of all situations upon a prairie,— *lost!* The sun was still high in the heavens, and I could not tell which was north or which south. I had my rifle and pistols with me, was well mounted, and had a sufficiency of ammunition; but I was not well enough acquainted with a prairie life to steer a course, even if I had known what course to start upon. Neither was I hunter enough to feel confident that I could kill a sufficiency of meat, in case I should be unsuccessful in finding my companions. Another thing; I had already found out, what every hunter knows, that the more hungry a man grows upon the prairies the more unlikely he is to find game, and the more difficult it is to shoot it. There, then, I was, without a companion and without experience,—starvation staring me in the face; or even if I was fortunate in obtaining meat, I still was almost certain to be killed and scalped by the Indians, or end my days in vain efforts to reach the settlements. I thought of home, and made up my mind firmly, that, if ever I was fortunate enough to reach it, I should be in no particular hurry to leave it again.

"I dashed off to what appeared a still higher prairie swell than the one I now stood upon; nothing could I see, except a solitary wolf, trotting stealthily along in the hollow below me. I even envied this most contemptible of the brute creation, for he knew where he was. I strained my eyes as though to penetrate beyond the limits of human vision; but all was a waste, a blank. I leaped from my horse and sat upon the ground for a moment; it was only for a moment, for, in my uneasiness, I could not remain motionless. I tried to reflect, to reason; but so fast did thoughts of starvation and of Indian perils crowd upon my mind, that I could come to no definite conclusion as to my present position with reference to that of my companions. I tried to follow my own trail back to the point where I had so foolishly left "Old Paint"; but the ground was so hard, that my horse's hoofs had made little or no indentation, and I was too impatient to examine the face of the prairie with that searching scrutiny which might have resulted in success.

. . . . .

"'But,' the reader will perchance inquire, 'why did you not give your horse the reins, and trust to his natural sagacity for regaining his or your companions?' And again; 'Why did you not wait until the sun was low in the western heavens, then reflect, for one moment, in what direction the command was travelling, and the side on which you had left it? You knew that

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the sun would set in the west, and that, as you had faced it, north was to the right and south to the left; surely you could then steer a course, even if you could not while the sun was vertical.'

"Gentle reader, you have never been lost on a wide ocean of prairies, unskilled in border life, and little gifted with the power of first adopting a course to follow, and then not deviating from it. You must recollect, that, there, as on the wide ocean, you find no trees, no friendly landmarks to guide you, — all is a wide waste of eternal sameness. *To be lost*, as I and others have experienced, has a complex and fearful meaning. It is not merely to stray from your friends, your path, but from yourself. With your way, you lose your presence of mind. You attempt to reason; but the rudder and compass of your reflective faculties are gone. Self-confidence, too, is lost; in a word, all is lost, except a maniacal impulse to despair, that is peculiar and indescribable.

"In my case, fate, fortune, good luck — call it by what name you may — stepped in to my assistance. While upon one of the highest rolls of the prairie, I resolved to proceed in a certain direction, and, if possible, to keep it without variation. Whether I did so, or not, I am unable to say; I only know, that after travelling at a rapid pace, it may be some five miles, I suddenly found myself upon the brow of a high and steep declivity, overlooking a narrow but beautiful valley, through which a small creek was winding. I had examined the prairies in every direction during my short ride, until my eyes ached from over-straining, yet had not for a moment allowed my horse to slacken his pace. I now paused to examine the valley before me. The reader may judge my feelings, when, after a hasty glance, I discovered the white tops of the wagons, far off in the distance to the right, slowly winding their way down a gentle slope into the valley. Never was the sight of friendly sail more welcome to the eye of a shipwrecked mariner than was the appearance of those wagons to me, and I fairly laughed aloud at my good fortune." — Vol. I., pp. 155 – 159.

We doubt whether Mr. Kendall would have laughed aloud, even after an escape like this, if he could have anticipated that which was about to befall him. It is unnecessary to be particular in recapitulating circumstances which are familiar to most readers. Mr. Kendall's passports, derived from the Mexican consul at New Orleans, did not protect him from the indignities and cruelty which were poured without measure on the heads of his fellow-prisoners. Armijo was at

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this time governor of New Mexico, — a personage who appears to belong to the worst class of Mexican officials. By his orders, the prisoners were to march to the city of Mexico, escorted by a body of Mexican soldiers, under the command of a brutal officer, named Salbezar. Fortunately, when they reached El Paso, this man was arrested by the military commandant there, General Elias, on the charge of having murdered several of the Texans; the full details of his inhumanity having been made known by the prisoners on their arrival. Before this time, they had experienced a kindness from the Mexican women, which gives a favorable impression of their character; and at El Paso, the hospitality and kindness which they received from all are acknowledged in the warmest terms. The inconvenience, and even suffering, attending the privations and hardships of a long winter journey, under circumstances so disheartening as those of a prisoner of war, totally uncertain what his destiny might be in the hands of those whose military usages savor strongly of the barbarous, might have furnished a sufficient apology for the author, if his power of observation had been less keen than usual; but it seems to have been always vigilant; and we doubt whether a traveller, proceeding through the country at his leisure, would have exercised it with greater benefit and entertainment to the reader. The following is the account he gives of the general condition of the less favored citizens of the republic.

"The constitution of Mexico guaranties to all classes and colors the greatest liberty and equality; the poorest peasant is protected, by the glorious panoply of the law, from every infringement upon his personal liberty; and the most abject beggar in the land has rights and privileges which cannot be trampled upon by his neighbour, be he ever so powerful or wealthy. So much for the law and constitution in theory, — the practice is an entirely different matter.

"The traveller, who visits one of the larger estates in Mexico, finds, in the centre of it, a village, or collection of houses, large or small, in proportion to the quantity of land owned by the proprietor. Occupying the most conspicuous situation is the church, generally a strong stone building, surmounted by a tower or cupola, with a clear, silvery-sounding bell. The interior is decorated, perhaps, with statues of our Saviour, the Apostles, the Virgin, and the patron saint of the hacienda, executed in wood, and frequently arrayed most fantastically; the walls are covered

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with wretched copies of Scriptural paintings. Close by the church is the residence of the haciendero, or owner, a massive, strong, roomy, but comparatively unfurnished dwelling, in one of the front apartments of which is his store. Here the poor peons purchase their liquor, their cigars, and the little cloth that furnishes their raiment, and at prices the most exorbitant. Adjoining this house are the *trojes*, or barns, where the produce of the estate is stored, — strong, substantial buildings. Then come the rude adobe hovels of the common laborers, frequently having but one room, in which the whole family, father and mother, brothers and sisters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, huddle together upon one common earthen floor.

"And what relation do these people bear to the haciendero? They are many of them slaves, — slaves to all intents and purposes, although they may enjoy a nominal liberty. A large proportion of them, probably, are in some way indebted to the proprietor, the law giving him a lien upon their services until such debts are paid; but most especial good care does he take, that they never pay him their obligations so long as their services are any way profitable. They are in his debt, and are kept so until age or infirmity renders their labor unproductive; then the obligation is cancelled, and they are cast upon the world, to beg, steal, or starve, as best they may.

"Should some one of the peons, more active, ambitious, or enterprising than his fellows, chance to accumulate money enough to repay his debt and regain his liberty, — how then? He offers his master the price of his redemption; but the latter, upon some flimsy pretext, refuses to take it; he has not yet done with the services of the vigorous servant. The latter flies to the alcalde for redress. The law is on his side, equity is on his side, but the functionary who administers them is very likely a creature of the proprietor, and will not listen to the case of the slave, be it ever so just. The latter attempts to purchase justice by a bribe, but he is outbid by the haciendero. The alcalde shuts his eyes upon justice, opens his heart to the longer purse of the proprietor, and the unfortunate serf is once more driven to bondage. Such, so far as I could see and learn, was the state of things at many of the haciendas we passed upon our journey. The immense wealth, which has fallen into the hands of the few in Mexico, has given them a power over the numerous and abjectly poor which amounts nearly to that of the English barons under the feudal system. Never will there be a change in favor of the lower orders until a thorough and radical revolution takes place in the very nature of the inhabitants, or until the country falls into other hands." — Vol. II., pp. 112 – 114.

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This, as a general description, may be rather strongly stated; but there can be no doubt that it is substantially applicable, not only to Mexico, but to all the countries which have thrown off the yoke of Spain. The Spanish domination was no primary school, in which the principles of republicanism could be advantageously studied. Institutions resting on equality are not likely to be very stable where no equality exists; and a long period of discipline will undoubtedly be requisite, in order to adapt the people to the institutions, or the institutions to the people. They have receded too far from monarchy to be able to endure it permanently now; but they have, as yet, found little tranquillity under a system nominally republican.

At Queretaro, Mr. Kendall became acquainted with a description of currency, which has not passed into extensive circulation elsewhere.

"We had scarcely been ten minutes in the convent when we were visited by the usual crowd of venders of oranges and other fruits, women with tortillas, frijoles, and guisado, all anxious to dispose of their little stock in trade. Mr. Falconer picked out some half dozen oranges and sweet limes from the basket of a fruit-girl, and in payment handed her a dollar. There was not small coin enough among them all to change the dollar, and Falconer sent it out by a corporal, telling him to get it changed. The fellow shortly returned with *sixty-four cakes of soap*, tied up in a handkerchief. Falconer told the corporal he wanted *change*, not soap. The corporal replied, that it was the currency of the place,—legal currency,—and that there was no other. Such proved to be the case: and, however singular it may appear, soap is really a lawful tender in the payment of all debts, and our companion was compelled to keep this singular substitute in the way of change for his dollar. He could not very well pocket it, as there was nearly a peck in bulk.

"The cakes are about the size of the common Windsor shaving-soap, and each is worth one cent and a half,—in fact, a fraction more, as eight of them pass for twelve and a half cents, or sixteen for a quarter of a dollar. Each cake is stamped with the name of the town where it is issued, and also with the name of the person who is authorized by law to manufacture it as a circulating medium; yet Celaya soap—for it also circulates in that city—will not pass at Queretaro. The reason I cannot divine, as the size and intrinsic value appear to be the same."—Vol. II., pp. 186, 187.

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It was about the middle of September, 1841, that Mr. Kendall was made prisoner by the Mexicans. His journey to the capital did not terminate until the 9th of the following February, when he was committed to close confinement in the hospital of San Lazaro. Strong efforts were in the mean time made by his friends in the United States, and efforts, which he appears to think might well enough have been stronger, by our minister in Mexico, to procure his release. Both he and Mr. Gregg entertain the opinion, that the intervention of our diplomatic agents in cases of this kind is far less effectual than that of the representative of Great Britain; probably the Mexican authorities are apprized, that the attention of our government at home is too much occupied with the great concerns appertaining to the welfare of party, to permit them to take much interest in other matters. General Thompson, however, the late minister, took a warm and active interest in procuring his liberation; but just at the moment when this seemed to have been effected, he was transferred to Santiago, where a body of the Texans were imprisoned, and was there put in fetters. The reason of this change he does not know. It is probable, however, that the Mexican government could not be induced to believe that any man should have joined the Texan expedition with any other purpose than that of subverting their republic; and doubtless his tour will be the last which will be made for some time in that direction merely for the sake of recreation. By the 21st of April, he was at length released, after an imprisonment of more than seven months, and, with as little delay as possible, travelled to Vera Cruz, where he embarked for this country, and arrived after an absence of about a year; — a term filled up with more adventure and vicissitude than commonly fall to the lot of travellers in these piping times of peace.

After his liberation, the author continued his observations to good purpose, and with a spirit that does not seem to have been at all clouded by the trials he had undergone. Some traits in the Mexican character, which he describes, might well enough find imita ors here. Among them, he says, —

"Poverty is certainly no crime, — is never insulted. The unfortunate mendigo, or beggar, is seldom or never spurned from the door of the rich; but, on the contrary, his misfortunes entitle him at least to respect, if not to alms, and invariably both are

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bestowed. No concealment of poverty is attempted ; — the poor Mexican family, unlike that of the American or English in similar circumstances, never impoverishes itself still farther by forced endeavours to conceal its real necessities. Of such hospitality as the Mexican dwelling affords the stranger is always invited to partake ; and, while the master frankly admits his poverty, he at the same time uses it as an excuse for the scantiness of the repast to which he invites his guest. The stranger is not told that his presence is unexpected ; that the butcher has neglected to furnish meat, with a threat to patronize him no more ; that the bread has just given out, and that there is no time to bake or send for a supply, or any of the thousand and one excuses a false and foolish pride invents in other lands, to conceal its indigence ; — nothing of the kind is resorted to. '*Somos pobres*,'— we are poor people, — is the honest admission made by the Mexican to cover any deficiency in his entertainment." — Vol. II., pp. 339, 340.

We are reluctant to lose this opportunity of reading a lecture upon the great question of "annexation," and our relations with Mexico, which circumstances have invested with no small importance ; but we have no doubt, that our readers will think it quite as well, that we have limited ourselves to an account of the narratives before us. In taking leave of Mr. Kendall, we feel bound to say, that his humor is not always such as could be wished ; but he is a liberal and keen observer, and an animated writer, and his volumes will be sure to give both entertainment and instruction.

ART. VIII. — *The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-conformists, from the Reformation in* 1517, *to the Revolution in* 1688 ; *comprising an Account of their Principles ; their Attempts for a farther Reformation in the Church ; their Sufferings ; and the Lives and Characters of their most considerable Divines.* By DANIEL NEAL, M. A. Revised, corrected, and enlarged, with Additional Notes. By JOHN O. CHOULES, M. A. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1844. 2 vols. 8vo.

WE are pleased to see an American edition of this valuable work on political and ecclesiastical history, edited with

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a care which insures the correctness of its statements, and placed at a price which brings it within the reach of the most humble book-collector. It is reprinted from the text of Dr. Toulmin's edition, containing his notes, illustrations, and corrections, and thoroughly revised by Mr. Choules, the American editor. It now forms, probably, the most complete, and, in the main, the most correct account of one of the most remarkable bodies of men that ever appeared in the world.

Mr. Choules has executed his task with marked ability. His notes give evidence of the care with which he has scrutinized the text of his author, and the extent of his researches into the literature and history of the periods he illustrates. He has consulted the most approved works on the subject, especially some which have been published since Dr. Toulmin's edition appeared; and has rescued from oblivion many a choice sentence and pregnant fact, interred in old and rare pamphlets and tomes eaten by time. The editing of the book has evidently been a labor of love; and much has been added to make us more familiar with the habits, manners, modes of thought, and principles of action, current among the Puritans, and to enable us to appreciate the position they occupied with respect to their contemporaries. Both of the editors are characterized by a love of religious liberty, and do not hesitate to give their author a little gentle correction when he slips from the principles of toleration. Both are Baptists; Dr. Toulmin an Arian Baptist, Mr. Choules a Calvinistic one. In the notes of the former, some curious information is given respecting the Unitarians who were mingled among the persecuted non-conformists, and of the hot disputes which sometimes occurred between men confined in one prison, for one offence.

Mr. Choules occasionally allows a little acerbity to steal into his style, in referring to the pretensions of Episcopacy and Catholicism; but not more than could be expected from a man who has devoted years to a tract of history, blasted by the fire of theological hatred, and red with the blood of the saints. It is almost imposible for any person, whose pulse leaps at the thought of senseless and brutal wrong, done to men whose only sin consisted in being purer and more honest than their contemporaries, to travel through circumstantial details of rapine and murder, without occasion-

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ally letting loose his tongue, both at the perpetrators and at the systems under which such crimes were sanctified. Such little deviations from the bland and opinionless impartiality, with which such enormities should be contemplated, must be forgiven to those who edit narratives of religious feuds and persecutions.

The Rev. Daniel Neal, the author of the work, lived at a period when the ardor of theological dispute and recrimination had become allayed, and when the history of the Puritans could be written with the calmness requisite for truth and fairness. He was born in 1678, and died in 1743. The first volume of his history appeared in 1732. He was a clergyman of the old school of laborers, once so common in New England, writing two sermons a week for thirty years, devoting eight or twelve afternoons in the month to visiting his congregation, and after wearing out brain and body in the service of his people, dying at last with the pen literally trembling in his hand. Though, in his doctrinal sentiments, a Calvinist, and a sturdy defender of his creed, he appears to have been temperate and just to others, disliking warfare on points of faith, and especially opposed to that mode of argument which addresses the reason through penal laws and machines of torture. He was what the world, almost universally, would call a good man, — performing all the relations of life with exemplary fidelity, and presenting a character which infidelity could not but honor, and even licentiousness respect. We believe that he aimed conscientiously at truth in his history, and was incapable of a deliberate perversion of fact. The general fairness of his statements, though doubted at times, has never been successfully impugned. All the errors which criticism has discovered in his work arose either from the imperfection of his materials, or that unconscious bias towards his own party, from which the most candid minds are not always free. His character in every respect shines well, as contrasted with that of his opponents, Grey and Warburton, who brought in question his historical honesty. The candor of such a critic as Dr. Grey may be estimated by his edition of Hudibras, in which he seems to have taken great delight in prowling amidst the literary filth of Charles the Second's time, to rake up morsels of ribaldry, originally directed by sensualists and renegades against the Puritans, and which by the mercy

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of the world, would otherwise have been allowed to rot out of existence. The fierce, unjust, domineering spirit of Warburton, whose vast learning was held in bondage to paradox and bigotry, and who passed to preferment and power through the gate of sycophancy, was not peculiarly fitted to criticise, or even consistently to abuse, such a man as Neal. At any rate, all the light which has been shed on the times since the original work was written has flowed freely into the minds of its editors, and any mistakes into which the author may have fallen have been rigorously corrected. As it now stands, it can be taken as a reliable history, in which matters of fact and matters of opinion are cautiously discriminated.

The style of Neal's work, if it does not evince a large command of expression, is still not deficient in many excellences. It contains numerous passages of that homely eloquence, which springs from simple earnestness of feeling, and finds its way directly to the heart. There is occasionally much felicity in the selection of words embodying homely fancies, and which convey the sense by suggesting an image. This characterizes, indeed, almost all the school of writers to which Neal belonged, and gives to many of the forgotten pamphlets of the last half of the seventeenth century a raciness of style more expressive than elegant. There is, at times, considerable picturesque quaintness in Neal, and not unfrequently a kind of half-suppressed irony, which relieve the business-like character of the general composition of his history. We have not found the book dull. By occasionally skipping or condensing an account of some Non-conformist preacher, in whose biography the author's pen is a little too liberal of ink, and disregarding a few abstracts of voluminous documents, we think it would please the general reader. The honesty and simplicity of the writer's nature shine clearly through his style, and give it an originality and freshness which it could not derive from a more scrupulous rhetoric and a less natural arrangement. In the narration of facts, the disposition of arguments, the compression of evidence, the review of disputed questions, and often in the keen criticism of motives, and clear insight into matters overladen with passion and verbiage, the style and the mind of Neal are displayed to great advantage. It is difficult to resist the conclusion, that the intention of the author in writing his work was not to serve any party or

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private views, but that his object was, in his own words, to do "some service to the cause of truth, and to the religious and civil liberties of mankind."

We think the publication of this book timely, apart from its historical value and interest. The great principle on which rested equally the justice of the Reformation, and the Puritan secession, is now often called in question. Authority once more declares its right to supersede conscience. The thoughts and feelings of the tenth and fourteenth centuries are translated into the language of the nineteenth. Propositions, long considered as truisms, are now attacked as paradoxes. Archbishop Laud has his eulogists; Luther his detractors. The right of the individual mind to form its faith from the most thoughtful and candid perusal of the Bible is denied. All the blood that has been shed, all the tortures which have been endured, all the miseries which have been suffered, to convert this principle into an established fact, are thus implied to have been wasted. The world has been battling blindly to establish a great heresy, repugnant to right reason and to the word of God; and the inference is, that many of the martyrs have but "passed out of one flame into another." If this right of individual judgment be a mere figment of the brain, the wars into which it has led some of the best and noblest of the race are the greatest satires on human folly and depravity ever written in blood and consecrated by suffering and heroism.

We know and deprecate the evils of dissent, and the evils which flow from the unrestrained exercise of individual judgments in matters of religion. Atheism and fanaticism — the one denying, the other degrading, God — are the two pits into which the inquirer is liable to fall, who casts off authority and trusts to his own mind. The volumes before us are full of examples which tell against kirk as well as against church. Senseless doctrines, accompanied by bigotry equally senseless; hatreds taking the name of duties; passions wearing the guise of revelations; pride and conceit speaking the language of conscience, — these too often meet us among the zealots who were associated with the Puritans, and among all great bodies of men who have opposed religious hierarchies. The dunce and the enthusiast are ever ready to supplant the established superstition with the superstition of ignorance and heated passion. But evils as bad as these

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cling to the best efforts of man, and arise from the imperfection of his nature. Besides, it should not be forgotten, that it is chiefly persecution that forces men into fanaticism. The dreams and ravings of zealots, wrought into uncontrollable excitement by the discipline of torture and confiscation, are arguments against the extravagant pretensions and wanton cruelties of the oppressors who drove them mad. That English liberty has been preserved and extended, that the rights of the human mind in matters pertaining to government, as well as religion, have not suffered a disastrous eclipse in the shadow of absolutism, is owing to the determined stand taken by the Puritans, as a body, for liberty of conscience, and to the indomitable energy with which they fought, with the sword and with the pen, against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. There were evils accompanying non-conformity ; but who can compare them with those which must have followed a tame acquiescence in the exactions of the prelacy and the king ? It is too common to pass over these pioneers and martyrs of English freedom, and refer the results of their labors to the agency of less powerful and more selfish spirits. "How many earnest, rugged Cromwells, Knoxes, poor peasant Covenanters, wrestling, battling for very life, in rough, miry places, have to struggle, and suffer, and fall, greatly censured, bemired, — before a beautiful Revolution of Eighty-eight can step over them, in official pumps and silk stockings, with universal three-times-three ! "

In Neal's History, we have circumstantial accounts of the errors of both parties. We should be the last to apologize for those of the Puritans. Bigotry and exclusiveness derive no charm from being practised by persecuted sects. But we think a distinction is to be made between the intolerance of men who persecute to sustain themselves in office and dignity, and those who persecute from honest though mistaken views of the necessity of certain doctrines to salvation. Besides, persecution is a bad school in which to learn toleration. If a body of men be deprived of their dearest rights for professing conscientious opinions, it is natural that they should attach more importance to those opinions than if they were allowed their free exercise. It not only makes them more sturdy champions of their belief, but it leads them into intolerance towards others. The most impolitic course for a dominant party to pursue is, to array the passions on the

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side of dissent. In England, it has ever been the fashion to support the established church, and discourage secession, by coercion and exclusion; yet all that the state, the pillory, and civil disabilities have done is, to multiply dissenters, and widen the breach originally made. In the case of men like the Puritans, — men of iron, to whom all the principalities and powers on earth were as nothing compared with the commands of God, on whom worldly comforts and worldly miseries could not operate as temptations or dissuasives where the interests of religion were concerned, — such a course comes under that melancholy class of offences which are blunders as well as crimes. It has been eloquently remarked, by one of the most prominent statesmen of the age, *that*, "*even when religious feeling takes a character of extravagance* and enthusiasm, and seems to threaten the order of society, and shake the columns of the social edifice, its principal danger is in its restraint. If it be allowed indulgence and expansion, like the elemental fires, it only agitates and perhaps purifies the atmosphere; while its efforts to throw off restraint would burst the world asunder."

Few religious writers have excelled Neal, either in ardor or argument for liberty of conscience. He has anticipated Macaulay in several propositions contained in his paper in the Edinburgh Review, on "Church and State"; and, indeed, most of Macaulay's writings on the period of the Rebellion and the Protectorate evince a close study of Neal. Though the latter preserves a strain of decorous loyalty and contented submission to the settlement of the clashing claims of Churchmen and Dissenters by the Revolution of 1688, he has many sly thrusts at the injustice and imperfection of the laws. He takes the position, in one of his prefaces, that it is the office of the civil magistrate to protect his loyal subjects in the free exercise of their religion; not to incorporate one religion into the constitution, and make conformity to that the test of loyalty and faith. He contends, that religion and civil government are distinct things, *and stand upon a separate basis.* "To incorporate one religion into the constitution, so as to make it a part of the common law, and to conclude from thence that the constitution, having a right to preserve itself, may make laws for the punishment of those that publicly oppose any one branch of it, is to put an effectual stop to the progress of the Reformation throughout the Christian world; for by this reasoning our

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first reformers must be condemned"; and he proceeds to show, that, if a subject of France wrote against Catholicism, he might, on the reasoning of Churchmen, be punished as a disturber of the public peace, because "Popery is supported by law, and is a very considerable part of their constitution."

The exercise of private judgment on matters of religion, if it sometimes produces superstition, more often overthrows error. It is that intellectual action among a people, which gives vitality to their worship and creeds. It prevents faith from degenerating into a ce emony, and transfers belief from the lips to the soul. It is almost the only limit to the besotted bigotry, or the smooth indifference, which so often accompanies unquestioned religious dogmas. It is always most active when the established form of religion is most tyrannical or most debased. And it is the school in which true manliness and true godliness of character are nurtured. The faith that has grown up in a man's soul, which he has adopted from his own investigations or his own inward experience, is the faith that sustains men in temptations and in the blaze of the fires of martyrdom. In faith like this, we perceive the heroic element in the character of the Puritans. It is this which endows their history with so many of those consecrations usually considered to belong exclusively to poetry and romance. To a person who sees through the mere shows of things, the annals of the Puritans are replete with the materials of the heroic. There is no aspect of human nature more sublime, than the spectacle of men daring death, and things worse than death, under the influence of inspiration from on high. Their actions, thus springing from religious principle, and connected by a mysterious link with the invisible realities of another world, impress us with a deeper veneration than we can award to the most tremendous struggles for terrestrial objects. That is no common heroism, which fears nothing but God's justice, which braves every thing for God's favor. That is no common heroism, which breasts the flood of popular hatred, which bares its forehead to the thunders of dominant hierarchies, which scorns alike the delusions of worldly pomp and the commands of worldly governments, which is insensible to the jeers of the scoffer and the curse of the bigot, which smites at wickedness girded

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round with power, which is strong in endurance as well as in action, which marches to battle chanting hymns of devotional rapture, and which looks with an unclouded eye to heaven amid the maddening tortures of the rack. Men who have thus conquered the fear of death, the love of ease, the temptations of the world, who have subdued all the softer passions and all the sensual appetites to the control of one inflexible moral purpose, who have acted through life under the sense, that there is a power on earth more authoritative than the decisions of councils, and mightier than kings, are not the men whom worldlings can safely venture to deride, or for whom placid theologians can afford to profess contempt.

The debt of gratitude, which the world owes to the Puritans, for the stand they took for the rights of conscience and the liberties of mankind, has never been freely paid. Their influence on modern civilization, moral, religious, and political, has rarely been justly estimated. The austerity of their manners, the peculiarities of their speech and dress, the rigor of their creeds, have been allowed to divert attention from their manifold virtues. Yet it would be difficult to name any body of men, connected by a religious bond, that has been so fruitful, not merely in divines, but in warriors, statesmen, and scholars. Milton, Selden, Hampden, Cromwell, Eliot, Pym, Knox, Baxter, Bunyan, among many others eminent in action or speculation, are names which have become woven into the texture of history. In the department of theology, the labors of the Puritans have been absolutely gigantic ; and whatever may be the estimate of their importance, no one can fail to appreciate the prodigious masses of learning which they patiently piled up as defences of the gospel, and the acuteness and grasp of thought with which they often seized the darkest and most tangled questions of metaphysical divinity.

But it is in the position they occupy in English history, that we most delight to contemplate the Puritans. We believe, that, as a body, they were the most sincere and zealous advocates of the Reformation. The taint of selfishness, of political expediency, of worldly ambition and worldly lusts, is seen in the motives which influenced the secession of the Church of England from the Church of Rome. It was a political more than a religious movement. It had its first inspiration from appetite, not from conscience. We

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reverence the Puritans for their honesty, in refusing to submit to the exactions of the new oppression, — for their dislike of any coquetry between Protestantism and Popery, — for their opposition to the mingling of temporal with spiritual interests, and to the coöperation of the church in the sins and corruptions of the state. Their stern and sturdy adherence to what they deemed the requisitions of conscience and the will of God will never cease to act as an inspiration to all who raise, in after times, the banner of revolt against accredited tyranny and established falsehood. Through the reign of Elizabeth, of James the First, of Charles the First, of Charles the Second, constantly pelted as they were with satire, and exposed to the most brutal wrongs and contumelies — with literature, fashion, taste, power, all arrayed against them, — they ever preserve those titles to respect, which cling to virtue and religion. Compared with the greedy politicians, the time-serving priests, the effeminate and dissolute courtiers, the venal writers, who honored them with their hatred or their ridicule, they loom up in almost colossal proportions, and frown rebuke on the corruptions of their age. We are not blind to their errors; we do not sympathize with their theology; we could wish that much of their enthusiasm had received a better direction, and that much of their piety had been accompanied by more kindliness of spirit; but when we consider the trials they underwent, the school of persecution in which they were trained, the character of the abuses which they assailed, the meanness and baseness of too many of their adversaries, and the inestimable services they rendered to the world, their faults and errors seem to dwindle before the light of their faith, their virtue, and their heroic self-devotion.

The Puritans — there is a charm in that word which will never be lost on a New England ear. It is closely associated with all that is great in New England history. It is hallowed by a thousand memories of obstacles overthrown, of dangers nobly braved, of sufferings unshrinkingly borne, in the service of freedom and religion. It kindles at once the pride of ancestry, and inspires the deepest feelings of national veneration. It points to examples of valor in all its modes of manifestation, — in the hall of debate, on the field of battle, before the tribunal of power, at the martyr's stake. It is a name which will never die out of New England hearts.

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Wherever virtue resists temptation, wherever men meet death for religion's sake, wherever the gilded baseness of the world stands abashed before conscientious principle, there will be the spirit of the Puritans. They have left deep and broad marks of their influence on human society. Their children, in all times, will rise up and call them blessed. A thousand witnesses of their courage, their industry, their sagacity, their invincible perseverance in well-doing, their love of free institutions, their respect for justice, their hatred of wrong, are all around us, and bear grateful evidence daily to their memory. We cannot forget them, even if we had sufficient baseness to wish it. Every spot of New England earth has a story to tell of them; every cherished institution of New England society bears the print of their minds. The strongest element of New England character has been transmitted with their blood. So intense is our sense of affiliation with their nature, that we speak of them universally as our "fathers." And though their fame everywhere else were weighed down with calumny and hatred, though the principles for which they contended, and the noble deeds they performed, should become the scoff of sycophants and oppressors, and be blackened by the smooth falsehoods of the selfish and the cold, there never will be wanting hearts in New England to kindle at their virtues, nor tongues and pens to vindicate their name.

ART. IX. — 1. *Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.* Boston: Little & Brown. 1844. 8vo. pp. 144.

2. *Observations on a Pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report,"* &c. [By GEORGE B. EMERSON.] Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 16.

3. *Reply to the "Remarks" of Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters on the Seventh Annual Report,* &c. By HORACE MANN, Secretary of the Board. Boston: Fowle & Capen. 8vo. pp. 176.

No inhabitant of Boston or its immediate vicinity needs to be informed of the causes and nature of the unhappy contro-

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versy to which these pamphlets relate. For our readers at a distance, it may be well to say, that it has grown out of the generous and highly successful efforts of Mr. Mann and a small band of active coadjutors to improve the condition of the common schools throughout the State. For nearly eight years, he has devoted himself to the task with remarkable ability, industry, and zeal; and his exertions have been signally rewarded by results which, if not commensurate with his ardent hopes, have far surpassed all the expectations that any judicious observer could have formed at the outset, after a full view of the difficulties of the case. There is not a town nor a school district in Massachusetts, where his influence has not been felt; there is not one which has not largely profited by the spirit which he has excited, and by the improvements which he has introduced. New school-houses have been erected, and old ones much improved; appropriations of money to the purposes of education have greatly increased; seminaries for teachers have been established; improved systems of instruction and discipline have been introduced; the number of scholars is multiplied, and they are far more regular in their attendance at school; and finally, an interest in the subject has been awakened, which promises still more brilliant and useful results.

Mr. Mann has not done all this; but he has had so large a share in it, that his name is identified with the work. Others have seconded his efforts, but he has borne the burden and the heat of the day. The liberality of a few persons — we may almost say, the munificence of one man — has supplied the pecuniary means for the enterprise. The members of the Board of Education have labored diligently for the cause, and others have zealously coöperated with them, giving what portion of their time and toil could be spared from other employments. But the Secretary of the Board has devoted to the task all his time, and all the talents with which God has gifted him. By travelling about and lecturing in the towns and villages, by tendering advice wherever it was needed, by constantly pressing the subject on the attention of the legislature and the other authorities of the State, and by writing letters, essays, circulars, and reports, he has stimulated the slothful, encouraged the timid, strengthened the weak, instructed the ignorant, and infused a

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portion of his own kindling enthusiasm into the mind of every man whom he could reach by his writings or his voice. Through him the profession of the teacher has risen in dignity and importance, and the interests of the common district schools have become attractive enough to draw off the attention of men for a while from the prospect of a change in the tariff or the election of a president.

We state these things strongly, perhaps, but not more strongly than is warranted by the facts, and proved by a cloud of witnesses. We state them as they would appear to an intelligent foreigner, to whom they were all communicated at once, and for the first time. What would such a stranger think, if he was further informed, that the instructers of the public grammar-schools in the capital of the State — persons who had witnessed all the efforts of Mr. Mann and their results, who had profited by his suggestions, whose profession he had exalted, and whose hands had been strengthened in their work by the zeal which he had kindled — had recently published a long and elaborately written pamphlet, in which they not only questioned his opinions and arguments, but assailed his character and motives, denied the good which he had accomplished, and depreciated the utility of the enterprise in which he was engaged? We need not answer this question; the feelings as well as the judgment of every reader will furnish a sufficient reply. But the publication of the pamphlet in question is such a strange phenomenon, that it is worth while to look a little closer into its history and the causes which produced it.

In May, 1843, Mr. Mann embarked for Europe, in order to recruit, by travelling, his broken health, and to study the systems of public instruction in foreign countries. He remained abroad about six months, and, as might be expected from the ardor of his temperament and his devotion to the cause of education, he gave nearly the whole of this time to the examination of the school systems, and of the institutions of instruction and beneficence, in the countries that he visited. On his return, he published the results of his observations in his "Seventh Annual Report," to which we have already twice invited the attention of our readers. It was a striking and valuable production, written with great freshness and energy of style, abounding with curious facts and lively descriptions, and, above all, animated throughout

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by the life-giving earnestness and enthusiasm of the writer. It had faults, certainly. Many of the inductions were hasty; some descriptions were overwrought; strong feeling was sometimes more visible than sound judgment; and novelties were too frequently caught up and recommended as improvements. The language was often unguarded, and a spirited account of some striking feature in a European establishment, which Mr. Mann intended merely to describe, without either approving or condemning it, was not unfrequently construed into an earnest expression of judgment in its favor. We have already expressed our dissent from some of the opinions avowed in the Report; and one of them, in particular, respecting the proper mode of teaching the deaf and dumb, we recently combated most strenuously, believing it to be unsound in theory, and likely to be very injurious if reduced to practice. But this was done, we trust, with no lack of courtesy and deference towards him,* and with what appeared to be an abundant array of facts and arguments in support of our position. Yet we shall hardly be counted in the ranks among Mr. Mann's uncompromising and vehement admirers.

The teachers of the Boston grammar-schools had never regarded with much favor the proceedings of the Board of Education and its Secretary. Their schools, supported by the liberal and intelligent population of a great city, did not need the sweeping and energetic measures of reform, which it was necessary to carry into the small and indolent districts in the country. We speak now of their condition in 1838, when the Board commenced its labors. They were, in the main, excellent institutions. The people of Boston were proud of them, — not as being all that was desirable, but as far superior to those which existed in the other great cities of the Union. Improvements in them were possible, and were made from time to time, though slowly, and with the caution that is always proper in conducting experiments upon large establishments, where great interests are at stake, and the harm done by unsuccessful trials is considerable. The system pursued in them thus naturally tended to become mechanical, and the instructers inclined to conservatism, and

* Mr. Mann, we are surprised and sorry to perceive, from a note to the seventy-first page of his "Reply," thinks differently; but we are quite willing to leave the point to the judgment of our readers.

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perhaps to indolence. Still, regarding their comparatively prosperous condition, the Board properly directed their chief attention to the waste places in the smaller towns and country villages. Mr. Mann did something for the Boston grammar-schools, and, as we have already said, the indirect influence of his labors, so far as these schools were concerned, was extensive and beneficial. But the great scene of his exertions and triumphs was along the highways and by-paths of the country, — in the towns of secondary magnitude, and the smallest villages, — in the interior, and the remote corners of the State at large. In his annual reports, he alluded but seldom to the Boston schools, and was cautious about pressing his advice upon their boards of supervision. His course in this respect was at once wise and delicate.

But the spirit excited by his indefatigable labors and eloquent voice was ardent, generous, and uncompromising. He created a thirst for reform, which was sometimes undiscriminating, and which began to extend into the city. In view of the great progress made in other places, people began to ask, if the teachers and guardians of the Boston schools were not asleep. These institutions had not degenerated; they had even improved, though very slowly; but they had lost much of their relative preëminence. Roxbury, and Salem, and Newburyport were beginning to shame the capital of the State. The people of Boston are proud and impatient, and they began to call aloud for reform, without counting the cost, or knowing very well in what the improvement was to consist, or how it was possible. Contradictory plans of change and amelioration were pressed upon the attention of the instructers from all quarters, sometimes by persons whose zeal far outran their discretion. Confused and uneasy under this state of things, the Boston teachers began to look with a very jealous eye upon the proceedings of the Board of Education, and the terrible activity of its Secretary. They felt uncomfortable under this pressure from without, — under the diminished comparative reputation of their schools, — under the consciousness that they were rather falling behind a movement which they ought to lead. They ascribed the disagreeableness of their position to the officious zeal of Mr. Mann, and began to question the wisdom of his measures, and to doubt whether he had accom-

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plished any great good after all. As yet, they offered no active opposition, but manifested great coldness towards the Board of Education and its all-efficient officer. The flame was pent up in their bosoms, but it was gathering strength there, and was ready to burst forth when the hour should come.

The occasion for its outbreak was furnished by the publication of the "Seventh Annual Report." The lively pictures contained in that Report of excellent public schools in other countries; the portraits, somewhat idealized, of able and indefatigable teachers; the startling accounts of wonderful results effected by small means; the vivid description of plans of instruction and discipline, wholly unlike our own, and often no better; the spirit-stirring appeals to Americans, if they valued their political institutions, or prized the dearest interests of the human race, to amend and enlarge their systems of public instruction; in fine, all the striking facts and glowing rhetoric of the Secretary bewildered and provoked the teachers of the Boston schools. They were rudely waked from their self-complacent dreams, and made to know, to their great astonishment, that their schools were not exactly the best in the world. They had no direct cause of offence. The Secretary did not even allude to them in his Report, for he knew that comparisons are odious, and he was cautious not to excite ill-feeling. But his readers made the application fast enough. The Boston teachers saw, that they were likely to lose a large share of the reputation they had inherited, and to be beset by still stronger importunities for reform. Thus urged, they resolved to quit their neutral position, and to act vigorously in the offensive. They would appear as the champions of conservatism, and do battle stoutly against the radical and innovating tendencies of the times.

Their plan of operations was curious enough. They wished to act in solid column, so that they might make up in numbers what they might lack in individual skill and prowess. Only one person could hold the pen at a time; but his assertions and arguments might be backed by the authority and signature of all the others, all differences of opinion among themselves being sacrificed for the laudable purpose of crushing a single opponent by the force of many. The weaker portions of the Report — measures recommended

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to be tried, perhaps, as proper experiments, and not with a positive conviction of their utility — were to be picked out, and their inexpediency shown, not by way of serving the cause of education through the prevention of ill-judged innovations, but in order to discredit the judgment of the Secretary. Accounts of some striking but objectionable peculiarities of a few European schools, — the rabid activity and volubility of teachers and pupils in Scotland, for instance, — peculiarities which Mr. Mann declares he never recommended for adoption here, but described "their fervid life [only] as a phenomenon, or spectacle," — were to be held up and denounced, in order to alarm and prejudice the public mind against the writer. These points were to be considered separately, the teachers selecting from among themselves the individual who was thought to be most conversant with each subject, and appointing him to write upon it; and the piebald "Remarks," thus prepared in partnership by four different hands, were to be attested by the signatures of the whole body.

Certainly, if any individual differed in opinion from Mr. Mann on a particular subject, he had a perfect right to express that difference in print, — to unfold his objections, and to scrutinize as sharply as he pleased the positions and the arguments which he deemed unsound. The publications of the Board of Education neither enjoy nor claim any immunity from criticism. He might publish his remarks either anonymously, or under his own name; in either case, the reflecting and judicious portion of the public would attribute to them only the intrinsic weight which was their due, without any regard to the character or profession of the writer. A bad argument is not converted into a good one, when uttered by high authority. But why unite the remarks of many into one publication, and attest the quality of the compound by the signatures of the whole party? Who constituted the "Association of Masters of the Boston Public Schools" a board of supervision and criticism upon the official reports of a public functionary, or upon all works on education that issue from the press? They never assumed this office before; why take it up now? They were not summoned into court in a body. They were not called to give their united testimony upon any question of fact. The "Report" was not addressed to them; the question

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was not formally proposed to them, whether they would adopt the suggestions contained in it. In most instances, they had not even the power to adopt them, if they would. It is the province, generally, of the school-committee, and not of the masters, to decide whether certain changes are requisite in the organization and management of the schools. In fact, Mr. Mann did not propose any. He wrote with a chief reference to the common district schools in the country, — the objects of all his former efforts, — for which his office was created, — the scene of his toils and the source of his reward. He did not attack the Boston teachers, either as a body, or as individuals ; he did not write for them, except in that general sense in which he may be said to write for all persons in the State, who feel an interest in the instruction of the young. He made no allusion to the Boston schools ; he does not mention the name of the city in his Report, except incidentally, and where the name of any other place of equal population would have served as well. Why, then, we ask again, do the Boston teachers appear *in a body* to censure his Report ? The homely adage is applicable here : *Mind your own business.*

On the grave questions respecting modes of instruction and discipline in schools, which are at issue between Mr. Mann and his accusers, it is very astonishing that a large body of teachers should be found to harmonize so perfectly in opinion as to be able to sign the same declaration of faith. On two of these vexed questions — the proper mode of teaching children to read, and of inculcating the duty of obedience — it would be quite remarkable to find two persons who hold precisely the same views. Unanimity of opinion among thirty-one must be either forced or deceptive. We are not left in doubt upon this point in the present case. The masters intimate, in their prefatory note, that there were " shades of difference in opinion on some points." What an admission is this ! They were ready to sacrifice their honest belief on some points, for the sake of uniting in an attack upon the Secretary. They have affixed their signatures to a creed, portions of which were repugnant to their reason or their conscience, for the purpose of bearing down one dissentient by the force of numbers. A recent event has placed in a striking light the injustice — the wickedness — of such a course. One of their number, whose reputation for

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integrity and ability stood so deservedly high, that his friends could hardly trust the evidence of their senses when they saw his name appended to the "Remarks," has since more than atoned for his fault by publicly retracting his signature, — avowing that he disliked the tone and object of the pamphlet from the outset, but was in a measure compelled to sign, contrary to the dictates of his better judgment, by the urgency of his associates. We need not hesitate, then, to declare our conviction, that, for the purposes of this publication, the teachers were banded together in a manner which partakes of the guilt of a conspiracy. It was one of those illegal and unjustifiable "combinations," which, as every pupil in a large seminary understands, ought to be punished *as such*, without regard to the nature or propriety of the object which is sought to be obtained by them.

It is not necessary to examine very minutely the several parts of this remarkable joint-stock publication. It is an old maxim in law, that the plaintiff must come into court with clean hands, — that is, with an honest ostensible purpose, and in a fair manner, — or the tribunal will not listen to his complaint. Now, by associating themselves in this strange way, and for such an object, the teachers have in fact deprived themselves of any right to be heard on the subjects in controversy. We may say to the writers of the sections on the Prussian school systems, on the modes of teaching children to read, and on school discipline, that, as their remarks are published together, and at this particular time, not for the purpose of enlightening the public on these topics, but in order to injure the reputation of Mr. Mann, and to lessen the confidence of people in the usefulness of the Board of Education, they do not deserve examination and criticism. They are all vitiated by the ulterior and wrongful purpose with which they were prepared ; they are all parts of an attack upon an individual ; they fall under the law which forbids personalities in a debate, the utterer of them being rightfully silenced and compelled to sit down. No matter if portions of them are written with decency and good taste and judgment ; no matter if some of the questions are argued with ability ; — by affixing their names to the whole document, they have made themselves responsible for every part of it ; and it contains enough coarse insinuation, unfair argument, and unfounded abuse, to cause

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the whole paper to be ruled out of court. The admission is of little moment, then, to the teachers, but sincerity compels us to say, that on several of the topics discussed we think they are in the right, and have the best of the argument.

The first portion of the "Remarks," which extends over thirty-eight pages of the pamphlet, is captious, vulgar, and abusive. It abounds with glaring misrepresentations of Mr. Mann's opinions, and with remarks calculated to throw odium upon him and the Board of Education, and to excite the prejudices of the ignorant. The writer has not even any professed object in view, except this illiberal and odious purpose. He discusses no question about plans of discipline and instruction; he brings forward no theory in opposition to the views of Mr. Mann; he seems hardly aware that there are any topics connected with the management of schools, which require close examination and sober argument. But he multiplies authorities to prove the high character of the Boston schools, which Mr. Mann never denied, and he manifests a foolish jealousy of the Normal schools, lest some of the pupils educated in them should hereafter obtain situations as instructers by displacing himself and his associates. He may well be left, therefore, to the severe castigation inflicted upon him by Mr. Mann in the "Reply."

Of the other three portions of the "Remarks," if it were not for the consideration already mentioned, we should speak with mildness, and even with respect. They contain some forced constructions of Mr. Mann's language, a few inaccuracies of statement, and some harsh criticisms. But these faults are among the almost necessary evils of controversy. Generally, each writer attaches himself to his particular theme, and reasons upon it with at least an ordinary share of candor and ability. The examination of the Prussian modes of instruction is the feeblest portion of the three, and contains the most objectionable matter. It is very imperfect, but few of the peculiarities of the Prussian system being considered at all, and these without any clear conception of their character and tendency. But much that is said in defence of the proper use of text-books in school, in opposition to the Prussian fashion of lecturing at great length without book, appears to be sound, and ought to be duly weighed by instructers and committees who have charge of the subject.

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We have great confidence in the power of a voluble lecturer to amuse his class, but not so much faith in the accuracy of the ideas thus obtained, or in their hold upon the memory of the pupils.

The next part, on the proper mode of teaching children to read, is much better. The writer holds to the old method of teaching first the letters of the alphabet, and then their combination into words; Mr. Mann advocates the comparatively novel plan of making the child familiar at first with the appearance of a number of words in writing or print, and then teaching him to resolve these compounds into their elements, and thus to acquire a knowledge of the alphabet. We agree with the writer of the "Remarks," on the general principle that it is best to teach elementary things first, or to know the parts of which a thing is composed, before we study the whole. *Belier, mon ami, commencez par le commencement.* In learning to read, there seems to be the same reason for acquiring first a knowledge of the alphabet, that there is, in the study of mathematics, for placing the multiplication table before instruction in algebra, or, in building a house, for beginning with the foundation rather than the ridgepole. Doubtless, the child is more amused at first by learning the appearance in print of words already familiar to his ear, than by studying that abstruse problem, the alphabet; but sooner or later, this task, also, must be accomplished, and it is not very apparent how the prefatory work or amusement will materially lessen the difficulties of the unbreeched philosopher. At any rate, as children may unquestionably be taught to read on either plan, the only question between them seems to relate to the saving of time; and in all the instances that have fallen under our notice, the child has been enabled to take this first great step in knowledge quite as soon as was at all desirable. The matter, then, may properly be left to the judgment or the fancy of each instructer.

Respecting the last portion of the "Remarks," on school discipline, we gladly borrow the language of Mr. G. B. Emerson, the powerful and hearty friend and coadjutor of Mr. Mann, by saying, that it is "a very able, well considered, temperate, and thorough examination of that subject." It seems strange, at first sight, that there should be any discussion on this point between the teachers and the Secretary,

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for their general views certainly coincide. Mr. Mann has "always defended the resort to physical coercion, after moral means had been tried and failed"; and he emphatically rejects the doctrine, that, "*in the present state of society*, punishment, and even corporal punishment, can be dispensed with, by all teachers, in all schools, and with regard to all scholars." The opinion of the Teacher is, that, when "the spirit of opposition is too strong to be overruled by *those higher and more refined motives, upon which we should always rely when they are active*, we are left without resource unless we appeal to fear." When both parties admit so much, it is difficult to see any ground which remains to be contested between them. The "disputed territory" is evidently of quite small size and very trifling value. But the mischief and the sin of controversy, when personal feeling is once excited, is to make mountains out of molehil's. Agreeing substantially in opinion, Mr. Mann and the Teacher still look at the subject from different sides, and are marching in opposite directions. The latter, harassed and fatigued, probably, by the necessity of preserving order and submission among four or five hundred rude boys, collected from the streets and alleys of a great city, over whom he has no control except during six or seven hours of the day, looks with uneasiness and alarm upon any effort to discredit that ancient symbol of his office, the rod, and thus to deprive him of his last resort — the *ultima ratio* of the schoolmaster. He says with some pathos, "We complain of this disposition to render necessary but irksome measures more irksome, and even odious, by thus dwelling upon and exaggerating their abuses." On the other hand, the fine humanity and enthusiasm of the Secretary, regarding affection, the sense of duty, the love of knowledge, and the love of truth, as the only proper motives of conduct, lead him to plead earnestly against the practice of compelling submission by stripes, though, with a generous inconsequence, he thereby falsifies his own admissions. Whatever error there may be in either of these courses, we cannot find it in our hearts to censure it with great severity. It is a case for mutual explanation and concession; for the exercise of that charity, which seeks to enter into the feelings of an opponent, and to understand the difficulties of his situation, and especially to refrain from the use of language which will embitter the one or increase the other.

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We have already alluded to Mr. Emerson's pamphlet, and would here express our deep regret, that all the parts of this lamentable controversy have not been conducted with the admirable temper and discretion which dictated his excellent "Observations." No person has a better right to be heard with attention and respect upon all the questions here at issue. He has long enjoyed well merited fame as the head of one of the best institutions for education in the United States. But the numerous cares of such an office have not absorbed his time, or exhausted his zeal for the cause of learning and sound morals. From the outset, he has been a most active and efficient adviser and assistant of the Board of Education and its Secretary, and has spared neither time nor toil, neither his pen nor his person, for the advancement of the great purpose which they have in view. Whenever the work or the agents in it have been attacked from motives of self-interest, fanaticism, or prejudice, he has stood forward as a strong champion in their defence. In the pamphlet now before us, he has rebuked, even with warmth and sternness, the unjustifiable joint attack of the Boston teachers upon Mr. Mann. But he has also spoken the truth in love, with candor, prudence, and good taste. Though some of the coarse insinuations of the teachers were directed against himself, there is no bitterness in the "Observations," no unwise aggravation of the matters in dispute. Yet no person of right feelings and sound judgment can read his remarks, and not be disposed to cast strong censure upon the conduct of the schoolmasters, and to do whatever in him lies for the support and encouragement of Mr. Mann in his noble enterprise. Mr. Emerson's eloquent vindication of the measures of the Secretary, and his noble appeal to all parties to forget their differences and unite with each other in helping forward the great cause, we trust, will be heard and answered by every true-hearted man in the State.

If Mr. Mann has not written his "Reply" with equal prudence, the fault must be attributed to the ardor of his attachment to the cause, and to the magnitude of the provocation he had received. He has not only amply vindicated himself, but has retorted upon his assailants with terrible severity. Though he dislikes the use of the rod for children, he evidently has no objection to whipping schoolmasters, and in this case, he has certainly plied the birch with remarkable

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dexterity and strength of arm. If the reader does not constantly keep in mind the unprovoked nature of the attack, and the importance of the interests which it was meant to injure, he is tempted to pity the unhappy persons exposed to such a merciless punishment. The "Reply" is nervous and eloquent; but it is written, perhaps, with too much vehemence, and with rhetoric that is rather flowing and brilliant, than tasteful or correct. As a justification of the writer's own course, and of the measures of the Board of Education, it is unanswerable; no person, we think, will be hardy enough again to assail either. Here Mr. Mann stands on firm ground, the purity of his intentions being unquestionable, and the works which he has accomplished bearing witness both to the wisdom and the energy of his conduct. His opponents are silenced, at any rate, if they are not convinced.

With respect to the discussion into which he has entered, of the several plans of instruction and discipline in the schools, it is necessary to speak more doubtfully. He had a perfect right, as we have shown, to put aside these questions altogether on the present occasion; on the ground, that his opinions had been assailed, not in order to elicit or defend the truth, but to excite odium against him as a public officer, and to prejudice the cause in which he was engaged. This, we think, would have been the wisest course. But having consented to waive this privilege, and to meet his opponents on their own ground, he was bound to reason with candor, good temper, and good faith, — not to blend argument with invective, nor to attempt to damage the reasoning of his adversaries by charging upon it the impropriety of their conduct, or the baseness of their motives. Argument is always to be answered as such, or else not answered at all. Having once stepped into the ring with his opponents, Mr. Mann was bound to forego all the advantages of the position he occupied while out of it, — to reason, not as an injured and provoked person, but as an ingenuous and dispassionate seeker after the truth, — with sober language and sound logic. We would not intimate, by any means, that he intended to transgress this obvious rule. His honesty of purpose shines out through the whole "Reply," with a light that cannot be mistaken. But he was troubled and excited, not more by the aggravated assault upon his character and

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motives, than by his own earnest conviction of the truth and importance of the doctrines he was defending. An ardent and generous mind *cannot* reason dispassionately under these circumstances. Logic runs into rhetoric; refutation gives place to invective; declamation is substituted for plain statements of fact; and the whole argumentation becomes vicious and unsound.

It is painful to charge even these involuntary mistakes upon the Secretary; but having censured so explicitly and severely the conduct of the teachers, it is due to them that the whole truth should be told. We have already quoted the opinion of Mr. Emerson respecting the fourth portion of the "Remarks," on the subject of school discipline. The following is a specimen of the manner in which Mr. Mann speaks of this portion of the schoolmasters' pamphlet:

"I have read most of what has been written in the English and French languages on the subject of education, besides many of the multitudinous works issued from the German press; and I say, deliberately and advisedly, that if all the unfeeling and cold-hearted doctrines contained in so much of the school literature of these several languages as I have seen were collected together, it would not equal a tithe of what is to be found in the last forty pages of the 'Remarks.'" — *Reply*, p. 142.

This is strong language to be used "deliberately and advisedly"; it is in striking contrast with the opinion of Mr. Emerson, and we must avow our own conviction, that it is wholly unjust.

We will add another citation from the same part of the "Reply," as it contains Mr. Mann's comments on a sentence which we have once before quoted.

"The 'Remarks' say, — where 'the spirit of opposition is too strong to be overruled by those higher and more refined motives upon which we should always rely when they are active, we are left without resource unless we appeal to fear.' I deny that any Christian man, or any enlightened heathen man, is left without resource, under such circumstances, 'unless he appeals to fear.' He has the resource of *conscience*, which is no more extinguished in the child's soul by the clamorous passions that, for a time, may have silenced its voice, than the stars of heaven are annihilated by the cloud which for a moment obscures them from our vision. He has the resource of *social and filial affections*. He has the *love of knowledge and of truth*, which never, in all its

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forms, is, or can be, eradicated from a sane mind. If the teacher is what he ought to be, he has the resource of a *pure and lofty example* in his own character; and he moves before the eyes of his pupils as a personification of dignity and learning and benevolence. What a damning sentence does a teacher pronounce upon himself, when he affirms that he has no resources in his own attainments, his own deportment, his own skill, his own character; but only in the cowhide and birch, and in the strong arm that wields them!" — *Reply*, p. 135.

This is very strange. What are appeals to "conscience," to the "social and filial affections," to the "love of knowledge and of truth," to "pure and lofty example," but attempts to influence conduct by "those higher and more refined motives *upon which we should always rely* when they are active"? It is difficult to see how a teacher pronounces a "damning sentence" on himself, who never attempts to excite fear till he has vainly tried *all* these gentler and purer means.

The Teacher makes some comments on a fact stated in the "Seventh Annual Report," that, in the course of the writer's visits to the Prussian schools, he "never saw one child undergoing punishment or arraigned for misconduct." The Teacher observes:

"Should the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction see fit to honor the schools of this country with a visit, we presume he would not be shocked with a single exhibition of cruelty or anger. The teachers, we doubt not, would find other means of entertaining him. And even if some thoughtless pupil should need a word of caution, it might effectually be given, without appearing to a stranger, and especially to a *foreigner*, as an *angry* word. The mildest terms may portend dire consequences to the disobedient." — *Remarks*, p. 110.

On this brief, and, as it seemed to us, quite inoffensive, remark, Mr. Mann makes the following comment:

"The case supposes the presence of a visiter, to whom a fair outside is to be exhibited. It supposes also that, under such circumstances, some 'thoughtless pupil' may need a word of caution; and it avers that this might be 'effectually' given, without appearing to be an '*angry* word.' It is then added, 'The mildest terms may portend dire consequences to the disobedient.' In common acceptation, as well as by lexicographical definition,

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'*dire*' means 'dreadful,' 'horrible,' 'evil in a great degree.' 'Hydras, and gorgons, and chimeras *dire*,' says Milton; and the '*Dirœ*' of the ancients were the Furies of hell. By what conventional rules, by what settled laws of custom and usage, in the thirty-one Grammar and Writing Schools of Boston, or in any of them, has it come to pass, that the 'mildest' accents of gentleness and love — and those intended to 'appear' such to a 'stranger' — should shake the heart of a pupil with consternation, for the 'dire consequences' they 'portend'? Whence this profanation of the words and tones of affection; whence this execrable hypocrisy, and this open, unblushing avowal of it? Was the utterer of this sentiment unconscious of its baseness, or did he so far mistake the moral sense of this community as to suppose it could pass without rebuke? How has it come to pass, that when a teacher passes round among his pupils, in the presence of visiters and strangers, and, to all outward appearance, says cheeringly, and in the 'mildest' tones, to a young master, 'Well, my fine fellow,' or 'My dear,'' to a young miss, they should know that, as soon as those visiters are in the street, their limbs will be girdled with stripes? If this sentence, about the 'mildest terms' being portentous of 'dire consequences,' were read to the Thirty-one, without rousing a dissenting voice, then I believe they are the only thirty-one men to be found in the city of Boston who could hear it unmoved. Let me say, that it is doctrines on the subject of 'School Discipline' like those contained in the 'Remarks,' and practices conformable to them, which, in so many places, have degraded the sacred name of *school teacher*; and made that most intrinsically honorable of all appellations a hissing and a by-word among men." — *Reply*, pp. 157, 158.

Surely, this is a very harsh construction of the Teacher's language. If a distinguished stranger — a foreign minister, for instance — should visit one of our Boston schools, we should think it was a proof, not of "execrable hypocrisy," but of decency and good taste in the master, not to annoy his visiter by any painful exhibition of the details of discipline, but to postpone the infliction of any punishment that might be necessary to a more convenient season. On occasion of a public visitation of a seminary, it is quite common to have the apartment swept and garnished with particular care, and the walls ornamented with some simple arrangement of flowers and green branches. Would it not be harsh to charge the instructer, on this account, with prac-

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tising hypocrisy and deceit, and laboring to give his visiters a false idea of the neatness and order commonly preserved in the establishment? To dwell upon and exaggerate the meaning of the word "dire," by connecting it with horrible ideas of gorgons, and chimeras, and the Furies, is as ludicrous as it is unjust. Every reader gifted with common sense must perceive, that the phrase "dire consequences" is here used by the teacher in a half playful sense, implying a state of mind which is the very opposite of bitterness and severity.

In the notice which introduces the "Remarks" occurs the following sentence. "The teacher, who has stood for many years, 'himself against a host' of five or six hundred children from all ranks and conditions of society, thinks he may once ask a hearing before the public." The morsel of a quotation in this sentence is not in very good taste, but it seems inoffensive enough. Fatigued and harassed by his unremitting duties, the teacher might well claim some sympathy, on the ground that he has so long stood alone "*against* a host" of children, though each one of his pupils, individually, was to him an object of strong affection. Few would think of finding in this casual expression any sign of opposition, loathing, or hostility towards those who were intrusted to his charge. Yet Mr. Mann comments upon it as follows:

"Before the vestibule, in the outer court of this temple which the Thirty-one have reared and consecrated to education, is the following inscription: 'The teacher who has stood for many years, "himself against a host" of five or six hundred children.' Yes; '*against* a host'! — not *for*, not *with*, but *adversely* to; — not as a guide and counsellor, but, 'for many years,' as a combatant and antagonist! — the whole presenting the image of belligerent forces and a hostile array, of whose fierce encounters the school-room is the battle-ground!" — p. 126.

This is the ingenuity of fault-finding run mad. Coming from any other person, we should at once pronounce it to be captious and unreasonable.

In considering the cases adduced by Mr. Mann, of large institutions successfully managed by "moral suasion," or very mild means, the teacher properly takes a distinction between what he calls "sanative establishments" — such as almshouses, insane asylums, "redemption institutes," pris-

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ons, and the like — and the common schools of a great city. He argues very rightly, that the situation of the unfortunate inmates of such asylums necessarily creates in their minds a sense of entire dependence and indebtedness, which renders them far more susceptible of control. He might have added, — the consideration being of still greater weight, — that these unhappy persons remain constantly within the walls, under the eye of their guardians, the system of management thus operating upon them without break, and without the admission of foreign and injurious influences; while the boys of the Boston public schools are under the charge of their teachers for not more than a fourth part of the twenty-four hours, and, during the rest of the time, many of them are at home with vicious, foolish, or negligent parents, or are exposed to all the corrupting and hardening influences of the streets of a large city.

Whether the distinction here set up is broad enough to justify the use of physical coercion in common schools, after it is shown that "sanative establishments" can be managed without it, or *without the use of equivalent means equally objectionable*, we do not undertake to say; probably it is not. But the distinction is evidently good as far as it goes; it is a fair and inoffensive argument, which deserves to be candidly considered. Will it be believed, that Mr. Mann so far perverts this argument as to charge the Teacher with maintaining the monstrous doctrine, that kindness is the appropriate means of influence "for thieves and vagabonds," but not "for honest, noble-souled boys"? But we will do the Secretary the justice, severe though it be, of quoting his own words.

"A way, then, is open, — one condition is still left, — by which you may save your children from the degradation of stripes, and the dastard crouchings of fear; and by which you may secure for them a government and training, whose means are 'active occupations, music, and Christian love,' — 'Christian instruction and Christian benevolence.' Abandon them. Strip off the lineaments of love from your countenance, and put on those of a fiend. Let your words scorch instead of counselling. For embraces, give blows. When night comes on, send them abroad for theft, instead of teaching them to bend their knees, and lift up their voices, in thanksgiving for the past blessings of the light, and the coming blessings of the darkness;

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and at last, when the officers of the law shall have seized them for theft, or burglary, or incendiarism, console yourselves with the reflection, that, *for such children*, 'kindness is the appropriate, and should be the almost exclusive means of influence'; — that they can now be blessed by 'Christian instruction and Christian love,' because their present condition has only 'a very partial bearing upon the question of discipline in our common schools.'" — pp. 152, 153.

It is an old rule for the logical conduct of a discussion, that an opponent is not to be charged with any odious consequences that may, fairly enough, be deducible from his doctrine, unless he expressly avows and defends them. The reasonableness of this rule is evident. He may not have foreseen that his opinion would lead to such results, and would have shrunk with horror from them, if he had; or he may not have carefully limited his statement, supposing that the necessary and obvious qualifications and exceptions would be taken for granted. Now, the writer of the last portion of the "Remarks" has but one object in view; he endeavours to show, that "school discipline must be based upon authority, as a starting-point"; he holds, that the duty of submission and obedience, *as such*, explicit and unreserved, must be inculcated on the mind of a child, even, if it be necessary, by a resort to extreme means, — to corporal punishment. Of course, it is sufficiently implied, if, indeed, it be not expressly stated in the sentence we have already quoted, that all milder means must first be tried, and physical pain be made the last resort. Mr. Mann takes no notice of this limitation, and argues, or rather declaims, throughout, on the supposition, that the whole philosophy of school discipline, according to the Teacher, is contained in the four words, "Authority, Force, Fear, Pain"; these are Mr. Mann's words, or rather the selection and collocation are his; he afterwards alters them to "Power, Violence, Terror, Suffering." He says, "It is here, that the 'Remarks' introduce us to a frozen midnight, where the light of love is extinguished, and all moral sentiment and humanity are congealed." Very strong language, certainly, and strikingly opposed to that of Mr. Emerson, who gives his entire assent to the doctrine of the Teacher as above stated, saying, "This most important principle is sustained with power and success; it is placed, so far as reasoning can

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place it, on an immovable foundation." Mr. Emerson even admits the necessity of using the authority of brute force "*in extreme cases*," though he grieves that this idea "should have occupied so large a place in *so pure a mind* as that from which this portion of the 'Remarks' came." Will Mr. Mann include in his anathema all who have expressly sanctioned this doctrine of the Teacher?

But the most striking instance of the transgression of the logical rule above stated still remains. Mr. Mann insists, that the Teacher has stated his principle "without making any exception as to age, sex, or disposition." No express exception, it is true; but would not charity imply one? At any rate, does not the rule already given forbid his taking any advantage of this omission in arguing against the main principle? And yet he proceeds to hold the Teacher responsible for defending the abominable practice of "flogging girls," though there is not one word upon this topic in any part of the "Remarks." Why not also make him answerable, since there is no exception as to age, for whipping infants less than a year old? There would be quite as much charity and justice in the latter case as in the former. We can hardly believe, that, in the Boston public schools, females are actually exposed to this degradation and cruelty. If they are, in the name of decency and humanity, earnestly do we entreat the guardians of those institutions to put an immediate stop to the disgraceful practice. But whether the practice exists or not, Mr. Mann, when his only ostensible purpose is to reply to the remarks of the Teacher, has no right to make him responsible for an inference from his doctrine, which he neither avows nor defends. To heap up indignant denunciations on this point, under the circumstances of the present discussion, is to cast unreasonable and undeserved odium upon his opponent, without advancing a step in the refutation of that opponent's principles. The following extract affords a fair specimen of his language upon this theme.

"In the clear vista of futurity, pictured against a serener sky, and glowing in a celestial light, I see, by the eye of faith, the heralds of Universal Peace. The great prophecy of Christianity is at last fulfilled. Emblems have become realities, and hope is lost in fruition. There is peace on earth and good-will among men. But lo! what hideous spectacle profanes this hal-

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lowed vision? It is a spectacle of men, and the likeness thereof is as the likeness of the Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters still *flogging boys and* — FLOGGING GIRLS!" — p. 164.

But enough of fault-finding. If our remarks have given pain, we are sorry for it; but a regard for judicial fairness leaves no alternative but to expose mistakes and errors, wherever they may be found. The attack of the Boston Teachers upon the Board of Education and its Secretary has failed, — signally and disgracefully failed. Mr. Mann has not only amply vindicated his character and motives, but has gained a large accession of respect and influence by the proofs that have been exhibited of his zeal, his industry, and his untiring devotion to the cause. If he has shown any undue sensitiveness under the criticism of his favorite plans of improvement, or any improper warmth in defending them, he may still boast, that these very failings manifest the strength and heartiness of his attachment to the cause. He should consider, that his especial office is to propose for consideration all schemes of reform in discipline and instruction, which may come under his notice; while that of others is to weigh them, and decide upon the propriety of their introduction into the schools. Strenuous objections to any of these plans do not necessarily convey any imputation upon him, or upon the propriety of his course in bringing them before the public. He can now afford to be generous, and to welcome his late opponents to a full participation in his labors for extending and perfecting the system of common schools throughout the State. The great business of educating the children of this commonwealth imperatively demands the undivided attention and active coöperation of both parties; and great will be the responsibility incurred by both, if they disregard this call in order to keep up a discussion, which now promises, if continued further, to degenerate into a miserable personal controversy.

We can hardly conceive it possible, that the great enterprise of the Board of Education of Massachusetts should excite jealousy, distrust, or active opposition in any quarter. The evident disinterestedness of all the persons engaged in it; the impossibility of converting it into a means for the furtherance of political or sectarian ends; the union of all parties, sects, interests, and districts in its favor; the sacred character of the objects it proposes to accomplish; the good

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it has already effected; and the wide sphere of usefulness which yet remains for it; — these are its titles to confidence and respect. The history of the few and insignificant attempts to check its progress is full of instruction. It has triumphed over every one of them, gaining fresh vigor and popularity by the effort, while its assailants have been silenced and disgraced. It has overcome the coldness and skepticism which were the most natural and formidable obstacles to it at the beginning, and it is now so firmly supported by the respect and gratitude of the community at large, that any direct opposition to it is not only futile, but pitiable. The Boston Teachers might as well attempt to dam up the Mississippi, as to stay its progress. They do not need to make the attempt; for if they are faithful to themselves and to the interests intrusted to their charge, it will redound to their own reputation and advantage. It will exalt the dignity of their office; it will surround them with the sympathies of the public; it will put into their hands new aids and appliances for the performance of their duties; it will advance the reputation of their schools; it will secure to them a richer harvest of esteem and gratitude from their pupils, who will be indebted to them for a more comprehensive, liberal, and profitable education than they now receive. Let them cheer it onward, then, instead of throwing themselves before it, so as to be prostrated and crushed by its irresistible momentum.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Library of American Biography.* Conducted by Jared Sparks. Second Series. Vol. III. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1844. 12mo. pp. 438.

We have often called the attention of our readers to the successive volumes of Mr. Sparks's "Library," yet not with greater frequency than was warranted by the interesting nature of the matter contained in them, and by the great value of such fresh and well prepared contributions to the stores of American history. The thirteen volumes, to which the work now extends, em-

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brace an amount of biographical and historical information, strictly American in its character, which would be vainly sought elsewhere, being derived in many cases from materials that now exist only in manuscript, or are very difficult of access. On the other hand, the portion derived from well known and easily accessible sources is so complete, succinct, and well digested, as either to obviate the necessity of applying to the original works at all, or materially to lessen the labor of consulting them. The great range of the editor's inquiries, and his long experience in historical investigations, enable him to point out all the fountains whence knowledge can be obtained, and his fellow-laborers have generally used the materials which he has put into their hands with diligence and good taste. If the patronage of the public should allow the work to be continued to a sufficient length, it will form an illustrative complement to the general history of this country, which will be invaluable to the student either of that history, or of the politics, the literature, the science, or the antiquities of our American confederacy. We consider it as a national work, which will not only richly repay immediate and continuous perusal, but will be of great value for preservation and reference in future years. It will be a matter of good omen for the taste of our countrymen, if, amidst the flood of trashy and ephemeral publications now issuing from the press, the worth of such a standard work should be generally recognized, and the editor be encouraged to carry it onward to its natural close.

To show how much he has already accomplished, it may be worth while to give a full list of the individuals whose biographies are now included in the work, distributing them, for convenience, into three classes, according as they belong to the Colonial times, to the annals of the Revolution, or to the history of American politics, science, and literature. In the first class, we find the names of Cotton Mather, Sir William Phips, Sebastian Cabot, Robert de la Salle, General Oglethorpe, Jacob Leisler, Nathaniel Bacon, John Mason, John Eliot, John Smith, and Sir Henry Vane; to the second belong William Ellery, Israel Putnam, Baron Steuben, Patrick Henry, James Otis, General Sullivan, John Stark, Ethan Allen, Benedict Arnold, Richard Montgomery, and Anthony Wayne; and in the third are ranked William Pinckney, Lucretia M. Davidson, David Rittenhouse, Jonathan Edwards, David Brainerd, William Eaton, Alexander Wilson, and Charles Brockden Brown. It is obvious from this list, that the work is yet far from being complete, many names of much note and interest remaining for the future biographer. Among the writers of the lives already published, besides the

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editor himself, are the two Everetts, Henry Wheaton, W. H. Prescott, W. B. O. Peabody and his brother, General Armstrong, Professor Channing, William Ware, and C. F. Hoffman. The literary execution of the several volumes is quite as good as might be expected from such contributors.

In the volume now before us, which is the one last published, we find a life of General Sullivan, by Mr. O. W. B. Peabody; of Jacob Leisler, by Mr. Charles F. Hoffman; of Nathaniel Bacon, by the Rev. William Ware; and of Major John Mason, by the Rev. George E. Ellis. No separate biography of either of these individuals has ever before appeared in print; and important manuscript materials having been freely used in the preparation of these memoirs, the book has the attraction of novelty, as well as high historic interest, and literary merit. Two of the persons here commemorated, Jacob Leisler and Nathaniel Bacon, were the leaders of the popular party in the two most remarkable contests between the government and the people which took place in the Colonial times, and which in some measure prepared the minds of men for the final separation of this country from the English dominions. In the language of their own day, they were rebels, and one of them perished, as such, on the scaffold, while the other was probably rescued from the same ignominious fate only by his sudden death. The general sentiment of posterity has reversed this harsh judgment of their rulers, and now honors them as martyrs to the true patriot cause. Few persons can read the brief and simple narrative, here given, of the events in which they were concerned, without acknowledging their claim to be considered among the earliest and most honored defenders of popular rights on this side of the Atlantic.

The life of General Sullivan is a neat and interesting sketch of a man, whose character and services on the field during the Revolutionary contest, and in the civil affairs of his native State after the peace, deserve to be remembered with respect and gratitude. Mr. Ellis has shown the zeal and industry of an antiquarian, as well as the taste of a scholar, in commemorating the exploits of one of those stout old Puritans, ever ready to worship God and to fight the Indians, to whom our fathers were indebted for protection against the numerous perils which surrounded their home in the wilderness.

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2. — *Syntax of the Latin Language, chiefly from the German of C. G. Zumpt.* By Charles Beck, Professor of Latin in Harvard University. Second Edition. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 200.

We are very glad to see, that this excellent and philosophical treatise on the syntax of the Latin language has passed to a second edition. As it was not noticed in our pages when first published, we avail ourselves of this late occasion to draw the attention of our readers to it, and to pay a just tribute to its merits. Though modestly stated on the title-page to be taken chiefly from the German of Zumpt, it is so much enlarged and improved, and so admirably adapted to the wants of the English student, that it might well claim to be an original work, — so far, that is, as any complete work on a fixed topic which has been studied for centuries, like the Latin language, can be said to be original. Yet we commend the good taste shown by this modest announcement, which is in striking contrast with the arrogant ignorance of too many pretenders to scholarship in this country, who boldly stand forward as the *authors* of works on philosophical or classical subjects, which they have filched, either piecemeal or entire, from some European repository of learning.

The high reputation of Dr. Beck has been well earned by the care and precision with which he has finished every work that has appeared under his name. He applies the file to his books with a degree of dexterity and exactness, that might be inferred from the neatness and idiomatic finish of his English style, which preserves not a trace of his German origin and education. This patient and thorough elaboration is very necessary in treating of Latin syntax, as the genius of the language requires so many subtile distinctions to be caught and expressed, and as very slight shades of meaning are indicated by differences of grammatical construction. We would refer the student of this little book to the chapter which treats of the subjunctive mood, for numerous illustrations of this remark. To remove the ambiguity or doubt which might still remain for the younger pupil, each principle is illustrated by a copious selection of examples, the analysis of which will afford a key to every difficulty. The division and arrangement of topics proceed on a simple and clear method, so that, especially with the aid of a very complete index subjoined to the work, one is at no loss to find a rule applicable to every case. The final section, on the use of the particles, embracing a very succinct account of some of the most troublesome peculiarities of the language, appears to us to be admirably executed.

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A word of praise is due to the admirable mechanical execution of the book, the type and paper being unexceptionable, and the pages being very free from those troublesome eye-sores, typographical errors. The work ought to be introduced into every college in the country, as an indispensable aid for the attainment of that full and accurate knowledge of the Latin classics, which is the only sound basis of a liberal education. It is one of the long series of text-books given to the public of late years by the professors at Harvard, the excellent qualities of which are now generally acknowledged. We look with confidence for still more valuable contributions to the cause of learning and sound scholarship from the same source.

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3. — *Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Sir Horace Mann, his Britannic Majesty's Resident at the Court of Florence, from* 1760 *to* 1785. Now first published from the original MSS. Concluding Series. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1844. 2 vols. 8vo.

The writings and character of Horace Walpole have been examined at considerable length in this Journal. The publication of the volumes now before us, from the original manuscripts, completes the series. These volumes form a body of letters, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any other literature. They record, in a polished, agreeable, and witty style, the incidents of the passing moment, together with the chit-chat and gossip of society, and the keen and satirical observations of the author, who stood by more as a spectator than as an actor in the scenes he describes. The first volume embraces the letters from 1760 to 1776; the second volume extends to 1786, the date given on the title-page being incorrect. Of course, the series covers the most important events in the reign of George the Third; and it is very curious and interesting to read the commentaries of a man like Walpole on the events which have such important bearings on the history of the United States. Among the most interesting historical passages is, for example, the last administration of the elder Pitt, he having just been elevated to the peerage as the Earl of Chatham. The letters written in 1775 are full of the troubles with America, and the reader cannot fail of being struck with the sagacity of the writer's views, the soundness of his judgment, and the truth of his predictions. The principal events in the course of the war

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are also recorded with contemporaneous speculation. It is impossible, however, to specify a tithe of the interesting matters which are treated, especially in the last volume; and we think, however high an estimate may have been formed of Walpole's admirable powers as a letter-writer, it will be raised by this new series, many of which are of more weighty import than those of the preceding volumes. The publishers have rendered a valuable service by printing them in a uniform shape; they would have deserved the public thanks still more, had they caused the press to be a little more accurately superintended. Typographical blunders occur quite too often. How absurd the following example of carelessness makes a book appear! "What a century," Mr. Walpole is made by the Philadelphia type-setter to exclaim, "What a century, which sees the Jesuits annihilated, and absolute *powder* relinquished!" (Vol. I., p. 363.)

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4. — *Notes on Cuba, containing an Account of its Discovery and Early History; a Description of the Face of the Country, its Population, Resources, and Wealth, its Institutions, and the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants.* By a Physician. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 359.

This is an extremely well written little volume, and it contains a very intelligible account of the island of Cuba in all its aspects. It opens with a series of directions to the traveller, of the most useful and practical kind; for example, a list of hotels and boarding-houses, with a tariff of prices, an account of the distances and modes of conveyance between various points, and other like particulars, which are so desirable to be known to the visiter, whether his object be health or pleasure. After this, the work properly commences. The author gives very agreeable descriptions of his voyage, and of his journeys on the island; he delineates the natural scenery in a manner which proves that he possesses an accurate eye, and a sensibility to the beautiful; and he presents to us lively pictures of the motley population and strangely diversified society of the place. With these particulars, he interweaves brief notices of the scenes in its early history, drawn from the most authentic sources. The botany of the island is not neglected; and full statistical statements of apparent accuracy and great importance are presented.

The author shows, that he has not risen above his Southern

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prejudices in some particulars; and perhaps it was not to be expected that he should have done so. We should, however, have been better pleased to see a writer of his evidently liberal culture avoiding the South Carolina cant of impeaching the recent policy of England, and accusing her of sinister designs upon the welfare of the Southern States; for this, we do not hesitate to say, is a tone of remark no less discreditable to the intelligence of him who uses it, than it is gratuitously insulting to a great nation, with whom we are, and ought always to be, on relations of cordial amity.

The style of this book is simple and unpretending, generally accurate, and always vivid and clear. We notice here and there a solecism of expression. On page 74, we find this phrase: "Some, indeed, *was being prepared* close by," instead of *was preparing;* and on the very next page, "as the day *progressed*," instead of *advanced.*

We copy the following for its literary interest:

"On the San Patricio coffee-estate, by one of the alleys through which I passed, stood a small stone building, smoothly plastered, with a flight of steps leading to its entrance; but it was roofless, and shrubs were springing from its floor and portico, while the door and windows had long since been removed. This had once been the study of Maria del Occidente, where she composed that most fanciful of English poems, 'Zophiel'; but deserted and ruinous as it was, in the midst of an unlettered people, it still seemed, from the recollections that hovered about it, like an oasis in the desert.

"An English critic has expressed his surprise, that such a poem could be composed on a Cuba coffee-plantation. Why! it is by a quadruple alley of palms, cocoas, and oranges, interspersed with the tamarind, the pomegranate, the mango, and the rose-apple, with a background of coffee and plantains covering every portion of the soil with their luxuriant verdure. I have often passed by it in the still hour of night, when the moon was shining brightly, and the leaves of the cocoa and palm threw fringe-like shadows on the walls and floor, and the elfin lamps of the cocullos swept through the windows and door, casting their lurid, mysterious light on every object; while the air was laden with mingled perfume from the coffee and orange, and the tube-rose and night-blooming ceres [?]; and I have thought that no fitter birthplace could be found for the images she has created. A coffee-estate is indeed a perfect garden, surpassing in beauty aught that the bleak climate of England can produce." — p. 139.

And we give the following extract, because it is so honorable to the moral character of the writer:

"With all the corruption of the bench in Cuba, the murderer very seldom escapes from punishment; and so well is justice administered in certain cases, that [that] foul excrescence on civilization, and most deliberate defier of the laws of God, the duellist, receives no mercy, and the crime is now *unknown* on the island." — p. 238.

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5. — 1. *Kate and Lizzie, or Six Months out of School.* By Anne W. Abbot, Author of "Willie Rogers," &c. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1845.
2. *The Tamed and the Untamed, and other Stories.* By the Author of "Willie Rogers." Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 1845.

Nearly a year ago, we noticed with high praise a story for the amusement of children, from the pen of this graceful and pleasing writer. Though very humble in its pretensions, the scenes and incidents in it were so naturally conceived and described, and the sentiment expressed was so pure and true, being debased neither by cant nor sentimentalism, that it deserved to be drawn out of the heap of trash which is published every year under the much abused title of "Books for Children." The public of little men and women, to whom it was addressed, apparently agreed with us in opinion, and they are rewarded this year by the appearance of two or three other stories from the same source. We notice in them the same peculiarities which obtained so much favor for "Willie Rogers." The characters are sketched with great spirit, and the scenes are so life-like, or rather so *home-like*, that the reader almost fancies that they were copied from his own fireside experiences. The shrewdness and humor with which the queer fancies, little failings, and generous impulses of children are represented, preserving the very trick of their manner and talk, are inimitable. They are not portrayed as tame angels, uttering words of inspiration and teaching the wise, after the affected fashion which is now too much in vogue. Neither are they stiff patterns of propriety and all moral and religious excellence, such as some very worthy persons like to draw in stories "calculated to do good," and are very much astonished that nobody recognizes the likeness. They are only romping, but good, *children*, doing mischief half of the time, and gravely fitting themselves for the cares and tasks of manhood or womanhood during the other half. Among the writers of established reputation, only Miss Edgeworth and Miss Mitford appear to have hit upon and accurately expressed this conception of a child's character.

Of the two books before us, "Kate and Lizzie" is much the better. Some of the older characters are admirably drawn, and the general views of life and duty which are presented in it, though never obtrusively, nor in a sermonizing strain, are eminently sound and healthful. Miss Marcia is a capital portrait, and one which many persons of excellent intentions, who have a drop or

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two of acid in their temper and manners, will do well to contemplate. The mode in which this rather sharp and ungracious goodness is rebuked by the spontaneous charity and mildness of the children is a fine lesson, delicately conceived and impressively taught.

We hope the writer of these charming stories will be induced to continue her good work. Considering the interest she is able to create, and the purity of the instruction which she gives, we can hardly conceive of any wider and more effectual means of doing good.

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6. — *A Discourse of the Baconian Philosophy.* By SAMUEL TYLER, of the Maryland Bar. Frederick City, Md.: Printed by Ezekiel Hughes. 1844. 12mo. pp. 178.

WE have read this unpretending little volume — unpretending in every respect, perhaps, except the title — with much pleasure, and with great respect for the learning, sound judgment, and general ability with which the writer has explained and defended important truths. He is an ardent but judicious admirer of the Baconian system, and the views which he expresses of its scope and leading characteristics are sound and discriminating, and calculated to place the learner upon the right track. We would mention with particular praise the remarks upon analogy considered as a species of inductive evidence, upon the distinction between logical and rhetorical analogies, and upon natural theology when viewed as a branch of the inductive philosophy. The examination of Lord Brougham's "Discourse on Natural Theology," and of Hume's essay on a special Providence and a future state, though not carried far enough to bring out all the difficulties of the subject, is a good specimen of criticism, and shows a clear comprehension of the great questions at issue. These are topics well worth the attention of every reflecting mind, and they are here discussed with remarkable good sense, and an earnestness which manifests the depth of the writer's conviction.

Mr. Tyler writes in an easy and well sustained style, which never sinks into meagreness, nor offends by rhetorical display. His chief fault is diffuseness both of thought and expression; if his diction was more compact and sinewy, and his ideas pressed into smaller bulk, he might sustain a comparison to advantage with most American writers of the present day. Speculations on such a theme as he has chosen cannot be widely popular; but to the few who take an interest in them we can cordially commend this little volume as containing valuable hints, and food for profitable reflection.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

An Analysis of Kant's Critic of Pure Reason. By the Translator of that Work. London: William Pickering. 1844. 8vo. pp. 215.

Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church, being a new Inquiry into the true Dates of the Birth and Death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and containing an original Harmony of the Four Gospels, now first arranged in the Order of Time. By the Rev. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D. D., L. L. D., Historiographer to the Church. London: W. J. Cleaver. 1844. 8vo. pp. 618.

Notes on Northern Africa, the Sahara and Soudan. By William B. Hodgson. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1844. 8vo. pp. 107.

Proceedings of the Naval Court-Martial in the Case of Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, a Commander in the Navy of the United States; to which is added an elaborate Review, by James Fenimore Cooper. New York: Henry G. Langley. 1844. 8vo. pp. 344.

An Address before the Literary Societies of Hamilton College, July 23, 1844. By Horace Greeley. Published by Request. New York: William H. Graham. 1844. 8vo. pp. 40.

Fitz Clarence: a Poem. By B. B. French. Washington: Printed by Blair & Rives. 1844. 8vo. pp. 31.

Revue Française des Familles et des Pensionnats, paraissant le premier de chaque mois. Vol. I. No. I. New York: F. G. Berteau, Editeur. 1844. 8vo.

A Defence of the Protestant Bible, as published by the Bible Societies, against the Charge raised against it by the Rev. Dr. Ryder, that it does not contain the whole of the Sacred Scriptures by 139 Chapters. By Akroatees. New York: Leavitt, Trow, & Co. 1844. 8vo. pp. 68.

An Oration delivered at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Harvard University, August 29, 1844. By George Putnam. Boston: Little & Brown. 1844. 8vo. pp. 36.

The Dangers of the Scholar: an Address delivered before the Gamma Sigma Society of Dartmouth College, July 25, 1844. By the Rev. John K. Lord, of Hartford, Vt. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 8vo. pp. 32.

Droppings from the Heart, or Occasional Poems. By Thomas Mackellar. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844. 18mo. pp. 144.

An Essay on the Philosophy of Medical Science. By Elisha Bartlett, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Maryland. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard. 1844. 8vo. pp. 310.

Miscellanies. By Stephen Collins, M. D. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 308.

The Distant Hills, an Allegory. By the Rev. W. Adams, M. A. From the London Edition, with Engravings from original Designs,

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by Chapman. New York: General Prot. Episcopal S. S. Union. 1844. 18mo. pp. 104.

The Shadow of the Cross, an Allegory. By the Rev. W. Adams, M. A. From the London Edition, with Engravings from original Designs, by Chapman. New York: General Prot. Episcopal S. S. Union. 1844. 18mo. pp. 96.

An Address to the Essex Agricultural Society, September 25, 1844. By John W. Proctor. Published by Order of the Society. Salem. 1845. 8vo. pp. 46.

Dr. Busby and his Neighbours. By the author of "Willie Rogers." Salem: W. & S. B. Ives. 1845.

An Appeal to the People of Massachusetts on the Texas Question. Boston: Little & Brown. 1844. 8vo. pp. 20.

History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America, from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Washington, 1842. By Henry Wheaton, LL. D. New York: Gould, Banks, & Co. 1845. 8vo. pp. 797.

Address delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, Nov. 20, 1844. By William Gammell, Professor of Rhetoric in Brown University. Providence: B. Cranston & Co. 8vo. pp. 30.

History of the Revolt of the British Colonies of America. By George Chalmers. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 2 vols. 8vo.

Scenes in my Native Land. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 16mo.

Lays of the Gospels. By S. G. Bulfinch. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE IX.

On page 244, our language seems to imply a doubt, whether the practice of whipping girls actually exists in the Boston public schools. We have since learned from undoubted authority, that the thing is not only allowed, but is practised to a great extent, in these institutions. It is also due to Mr. Mann to state, that in the part of the "Reply" here referred to, and in several other portions of the pamphlet, he wrote with the intention not merely to answer the arguments of the Teachers, but to expose certain defects and abuses in the Boston schools. We looked only at what appeared in print, and our strictures would have been modified considerably, if we had known the facts to which Mr. Mann had reference. The severity of his language, as we have since understood, was often designed rather for the practices of the Boston teachers in school, than for their positions and arguments as they appeared in the "Remarks."

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